

# The Library

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## SOME NOTES UPON THE MANUSCRIPT LIBRARY AT HOLKHAM<sup>1</sup>

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TWO hundred years ago there were nearly 750 manuscripts in the possession of Lord Leicester's ancestor, Thomas Coke. They are in the library at Holkham to-day, and their number has been increased by not more than seven or eight. The history of the library begins with the collection of books and manuscripts made by Lord Leicester's ancestor, the famous Edward Coke, Lord Chief Justice of England, born  $\frac{1551}{1552}$ , died 1634. Certain volumes at Holkham had always been recognized as his, having his name inscribed in them. But three or four years ago there emerged from the seclusion of the Muniment Room a precious series of documents, one of which is 'A Catalogue of all my Books, both printed and MS.'. It is signed in twenty places with the stately signature of Edward Coke. Appended to this is a list of his 'Antiquities and Rarities'. Another document gives a list of his 'Plate, Pictures, Tapestries, etc.'; while the third is an instrument by which he conveys to trustees 'all my Bookes, Rolles, Institutes, Collections out of the Records and rolles of Parliament, coppies of 'records, Reports and other collections and bookes whatsoever 'as well manuscript as printed of whatsoever kind of 'learninge science or art whatsoever . . .' to the intent that

<sup>1</sup> Read before the Bibliographical Society, 21 November 1921.

his heirs male may successively 'have and enjoye the use and 'the possession of them as a memorial of all my love and care 'of them', and that 'they may remain and continue to my 'posteritie'. His desire is that these possessions may be kept in his house of Godwick in some convenient place there, unless it is by licence of the trustees for the time being. He concludes with what is almost an imprecation on any successor who shall neglect or alienate his books. 'Lastlie, if any that 'shall hereafter be heir male of me, Sir Edw: Coke, shall . . . 'endeavour to do or to suffer any act . . . whereby any of my 'possessions shall be transferred or vested in any other person ' . . . then I pronounce such person so endeavouring to be 'ungrate and unthankful to such an affectionate loving and 'provident ancestor.'

The Catalogue is clearly written in a clerly hand, on eighteen pieces of vellum, which form a roll 42 feet in length. It appears to have been made in 1630, and it must be fairly complete, but not quite so, for there still exist volumes which have Sir Edward Coke's autograph, but which are not entered in the Catalogue. Of 1,150 books mentioned, 140 are manuscripts, classified under the following heads: 'Divinitie MSS.; Popish MSS.; Legal MSS.; Historical 'and State MSS.; MSS. of Herauldry'. Each section has its preface. The Law Books, for instance, are thus introduced: 'Secondly, of the books of the lawes of England (because 'they are derived from the Lawes of God) whereof some be 'MSS. and some mixt (partlie in print and partlie written), 'others in print, and of these in order, and first of Manu- 'scripts.' But Sir Edward had more manuscripts than those separately enumerated, for we read of 'Manie Breviaries, lady's psalters and manuells' in the Popish section; and 'Divers MSS. of writts and old statutes' in the legal.

Not all of these manuscripts are now 'used and enjoyed' by Sir Edward's posterity. We can identify about sixty.

Setting aside the legal manuscripts, some of which, to use the expression of the Catalogue, are 'quoted in the margent' by him, and some valuable collections of State Papers, perhaps the most interesting of the Chief Justice's manuscripts that remain are (1) 'The Secreta Secretorum' (458),<sup>1</sup> which was attributed of old to Aristotle, an illuminated copy executed, as appears from the many coats of arms and from the evidence of a sister-book at Christ Church, Oxford, for Edward III just before his accession to the throne of England. This book has been fully described by Dr. M. R. James, and its heraldry examined by Mr. Van de Put, in the Roxburghe Club's publication of the *Treatise of Walter de Milemete* (1913). One of the pictures shows what is said to be the earliest known representation of a cannon.

(2) Upton's 'De officio militari' (707), of which Coke has written in his Catalogue 'The Book composed by Upton and 'fairely written, being, as I take it, the very original'. A note at the end of the volume traces its pedigree thus, 'This 'Bouke was wrightten by Niclas Upton a Canon of Sarū and 'of Wells. A man skylful in lawes of Armes, in Civell Lawes, 'in natural Philosophy, and in Haroldrye. He was acquaynted 'wythe the customs of many natyons and wroyghte this Book 'with his owne hand and gave yt to Duke Umfrey of Glocester, 'Vncle to Kinge Henry the Sixte, and lord protector of 'England. This booke came to the possessyon of Harvey yt 'was Clarenceux Kinge at Armes, whoes wyfe being one of 'the pryvey Chamber to ye late Quen Mary, gave the 'wardship of W. (?) Lathū, son and heire to Raff Lathū 'Esquier, Lord of Upmynster in Essex, at whoes house she 'dyed, and this booke cam to ye hands of yt W. (?), who 'afterwards maryed Anne daughter to Wyllm Strangeman, 'Esquyer, and uppon compensatyon, with Mary Fortescue . . .' (and presently the note becomes illegible).

<sup>1</sup> The numbers are those of the catalogue of manuscripts.

One of his 'manie Psalters' has also an interesting pedigree inscribed in its pages. It is a fine illuminated fourteenth-century Psalterium (28), and we read, in a sixteenth-century hand, 'The names of such as were owners of this Boke it was fyrst geven by the Duke of Buckenhm to S<sup>r</sup> Rycharde 'Knyghtley'. Then, in a beautiful script :

'S<sup>r</sup> Rycharde Knyghtley, the ffather } off Fallesley in  
'S<sup>r</sup> Rycharde Knyghtley, the sonne } Northanton shyre.  
'Dame Jane Knyghtley.

'Benett Burton, Anchores, of Pollesworth.

'Doctor Matthew Knyghtley, of Cosyngton in Lecestershyre.

'George Knyghtley of Norff.

'Reg. Rous, nepos Georgii Knyghtley.'

And lastly, in the Chief Justice's hand : 'Edw: Coke, miles, cap. Justic. de banco, nepos Georgii Knyghtley, et modo 'possessor hujus libri.' At the end of the book, in a different hand : 'thys boke is Doct<sup>r</sup> Knyghtleys and he hathe lande 'hyt to dam Beñet Burton anchores of Pollesworth, desyryng 'h<sup>r</sup> to remēb<sup>r</sup> in h<sup>r</sup> praier dam Jane Knyghtley that gaffe 'hym pis boke, hyt hathe a regest<sup>r</sup> pynn of sylv<sup>r</sup> & claspes of 'sylv<sup>r</sup> and gylde.'

When Henry VIII's Commissioners went to Pollesworth, they found there 'an anchores of a very religious sort, one 'close upon a hundred years old', and in the Augmentation records we find that Benedicta Burton received forty shillings pension. The poor old soul had kept the Psalter, while she had it, in perfect condition.

Not all of the Holkham manuscripts can show so continuous a pedigree. But we may fairly assume that a good proportion of the English Service Books had come down to the Chief Justice and were his. He owned several English Chronicles, still at Holkham, and among these a thirteenth-century manuscript of Monk Symeon's History of the Church of Durham (468), the existence of which would seem to have



escaped the notice of editors of that work. It has the short continuation of Symeon's history to the Episcopate of William de St. Barbara, and also the continuation of Galfridus of Coldyngham, but ends imperfectly at Chapter 113.

Another interesting manuscript is a thirteenth-century Latin translation of the Saxon Laws (228), one portion of which Madden believed to be unique. It is thus described by the Chief Justice: 'A Booke in 4<sup>o</sup> bound in boursds with 'clasps of the lawes before the conquest translated into Latin 'with divers other memorable things, late the booke of Parker, 'Archbp. of Canterbury'. This, and a xiv-xv century Constitutions of the Anglican Church (226), were given to Coke by John Parker, son of the Archbishop. Among the 'memorable things' are a curious table exhibiting a concise view of the Heptarchy down to William the Conqueror and continued thence to the time of Queen Elizabeth; also a genealogical pedigree of the English Sovereigns during the latter period, and of the French branch from Louis X to Henry VI of England. At the end of this is written, in a different hand, 'Haec tabula sic collecta fuit Cantabrigie 'per Matthaeum Parker cum erat juvenis. Et scripta fuit 'manu sua propria.'

Among several manuscripts which have elaborate Dedications to Sir Edward Coke, the most important is one of Sir John Davies's famous poem 'Nosce Teipsum' (757). This has five quatrains in eulogy of Sir Edward which precede those 'to my Gracious dread Sovereigne', and are written in a different hand, which Mr. Alfred Horwood took to be Davies's own.

It would appear from the Catalogue that, as Dr. Johnson suspected, the Chief Justice was not a man of letters. 'Sir,' said Sir Alex. Macdonald, 'was not Lord Coke a mere lawyer?' 'Why, I am afraid he was; but he would have taken it very 'ill if you had told him so. He would have prosecuted you

'for scandal.'<sup>1</sup> He actually apologizes for books that are neither Divinity nor Law. Thus: 'Forasmuch as approved Histories are necessary for a jurisconsult, for he that hath read them seemed to have lived in those former ages, histories shall follow in the next place.' Again, 'and seeing that Philosophy, Rhetoricke, Grammar, Lodgic, and School bookes are handmaidens to the knowledge of the lawes, they shall follow'. Poetry is introduced in this way, 'And seeing that et prodesse solent et delectare poetæ, in the next place shall follow Books of poetrie'. But what shall we say of a learned man who lived from 1552 to 1634, and could not put Shakespeare's name in his Catalogue? Not even one quarto, though he could show a copy of Machiavelli's 'Mandragola', which must have looked strangely from its shelf at 'Hugo de Lyra his postills', and the Sermons of Bishop Fisher. He possessed, however, a Spencer and a Chaucer, and *Poet Dante's Works*, in print.

And what has become of the rest of Sir Edward Coke's manuscripts? Mr. John Evelyn, in a letter to Mr. Samuel Pepys, says, 'Our famous Lawyer St Edw: Coke purchased a very choice Library of Greek and other MSS. from Dr. Meric Casaubon, and these came to the possession of the present Earle of Berkeley'. Now, we know that there were no Greek manuscripts entered in Sir Edward's Catalogue, and we know also that Lord Berkeley gave his library to Sion College. But the Librarian of Sion College informs me that no manuscripts or printed books there now can be traced to Sir Edward Coke. Lord Berkeley, it is true, became possessed of a 'choice and excellent Library collected herebefore by the care and cost of that pious and honourable gentleman, Sir Robert Coke' (I quote the language of an Address presented to him by the clergy of London in gratitude for his gift to Sion College) (Collins's *Peerage*, vol. ii,

<sup>1</sup> Boswell, vol. ii, p. 158.

p. 503) 'by the bequest of his Aunt Theophila Berkeley, who 'was Sir Robt. Coke's wife'. But these were clearly Sir Robert's own books, not his father's. Again, Sir Robert must have known that his father had made his library an heirloom, for the deed was in the family's possession in 1655 when it was produced in the Court of Chancery. Sir Robert, then, is unlikely to have parted with his father's manuscripts to anybody, and we must dismiss Evelyn's story as unfounded.

But we do know from Roger Coke's *Detection of the Court and State of England* that while his grandfather, the Chief Justice, lay dying, Sir Francis Windebank came to his house of Stoke with an Order of Council, to search for 'Seditious and dangerous papers', and 'took away Coke's 'Comment upon Littleton written in his own hand, and, as 'he believes, 51 other MSS.' . . . 'In 1641, "Such as could 'be found" of these MSS. were delivered up to Sir Robert 'Coke . . .', but the number of those found is not stated. And further, we know from papers collected by Archbishop Tenison, which are now at Lambeth, that besides the more valuable papers carried off by Windebank, there were many others seized and examined (Johnson's *Life of Coke*, vol. ii, p. 323). Together with various 'antiquities and rarities' these were contained in a trunk which was 'taken from 'Sir Edward Coke's servant Pepys' (Pepys was his most confidential agent and secretary) 'and brought to Bagshot, 'by his Majesties commandment, and then broken up'. A list of them exists in a volume formerly belonging to Archbishop Laud, now at Lambeth. I have examined this, and I can trace none of them as existing in the possession of Lord Leicester. The Littleton is in the British Museum, and a few other Coke manuscripts are preserved in the Bodleian and other libraries.

Though they are not manuscripts, may I be permitted to mention three of the 'rarities' of the Catalogue by which

the Chief Justice set store, which should be at Holkham, but are not ; in case any curious antiquary who reads this should some day discover them.

'A ringe sett with a Great Turkys whiche Kinge Henry 'the 8 used to wear and was pictured with it on his fore finger.'

'A ringe sett with a Great diamond cutt with fawcetts, given to Sir Edward Coke by Queene Anne for the discovering of the poysoning of Sir Thomas Overbury, etc.'

'A ringe with a redd stone havinge Queene Elizabeth's picture artificially graven on it.'

Now, in the list of articles taken in the trunk to Bagshot we read : 'Two gold rings, one set with a fair turkeies, and 'the other with a pointed diamond'—and in a black box—'one other ring with a woman's head engraved'. There can be little doubt as to the identity of these rings, and the existing representatives of Chief Justice Coke would welcome any information that could be given as to their present home.

## II

There is no record of the fortunes of the Chief Justice's library during the rest of the seventeenth century. It passed through the hands of five male heirs, till in 1696 it became the property of Edward Coke of Norfolk, whose pretty young wife, Cary Coke, took pleasure in a few of the illuminated manuscripts ; she had them rebound and pasted her book-plate, dated 1701, inside their covers. Edward and Cary died prematurely in 1707, and it was their eldest son, Thomas, then aged 10, who was destined in a few years to raise the Coke library of manuscripts to a splendour which has had few rivals in any English gentleman's house. Godwick, the earlier home of the library, seems to have been deserted, and for three generations the books probably found a home in the old Manor House at Holkham. In 1708 Thomas Coke's

guardians are 'cataloguing and sorting the manuscripts in 'the Library' there. This boy collector of manuscripts lived with, and was first educated by, one Mr. Ellis at Isleworth; and already, when he is but 13, he is a young gentleman, buying horses and a snuff-box, and treating his little sisters to cheese-cakes and oysters, and the play. Then he goes to live with his kinsman, bachelor Sir Edward Coke, at Longford, in Derbyshire. He has a tutor, Mr. Wilkins, who writes, 'The young gentleman is of extraordinary natural 'parts, and of great capacity. He has applied himself 'extreamly much in reading the classicks, Latin and English.' But the lad delights more than anything in cockfighting, and the worthy tutor must restrict him to one match a week. He is full of impatient curiosity, and writes to his guardian to send a saddle, for he wants to 'travel and see England'. It is July; 'cockfighting is out, and hunting not in'. There is no sport but to shoot 'sparrows and such little birds'. So ardent is his nature, that in 1712, when the boy is 15, the wise kinsman sends him to travel abroad. Before he is 21, this cockfighting intelligent Thomas Coke has bought enough manuscripts and early printed books to form one of the finest private libraries in England. That, I take it, is one of the most remarkable points in the history of the Holkham Library; by far the largest part of it was bought by a boy. He stays in France, he stays longer in Italy, and he returns to England after five years by way of Vienna, Dresden, Leipsic, Berlin, Hanover, Amsterdam, Brussels. From letters that remain, it might be supposed that his time was entirely absorbed in fencing, riding, dancing, and 'going into society'. But he was fortunate in having as his 'Governor' one Dr. Thomas Hobart; and since it was undoubtedly this Dr. Hobart who influenced Master Coke to buy manuscripts, a word must be said about the man who played so vital a part in the history of the Holkham Library. Hobart was a Fellow

of Christ's College, Cambridge, and took the degree of Doctor of Medicine in 1700. The College books show that he had leave to go abroad on several occasions before he had leave 'to be away from England for 3 years to go along with 'Mr. Cook, the Duke of Leeds' grandson'. That he bought manuscripts for himself at Lyons we know from a letter written to Père le Long, quoted by M. Henry Martin; and he bought others in Italy. He was engaged at a salary of £100 a year for life, the very income which, about this time, Mr. Fenton recommended to Mr. Gay as one which would ensure him 'a clean shirt and a shoulder of mutton every 'day of his life'. He enjoyed the pension only ten years after his parting from Thomas Coke, for he died in 1728. His printed books were announced for sale in 1730, by Mr. Charles Davies, of Paternoster Row, at the same time as the library of Pepys's William Hewer. His manuscripts passed eventually into the Mostyn Library, and the best of them were sold in 1920 at Sotheby's. Influenced then by Dr. Hobart, this cockfighting boy of 16 spends 3,000 livres on manuscripts at Lyons. When he is 20, there is a bill for books at Venice of 2,358 livres, and at Padua for 4,779. In Holland his purchases cost him 1,612 Dutch guilders, and on his return to England, aged 21, there is a payment of 5,745 French livres for books. His early harvest brought him at least 400 manuscripts, and it must not be forgotten that he bought a great number of early printed books as well.

Monsieur Léon Dorez, of the Bibliothèque Nationale (who knows much more than any one else about the Holkham manuscripts), has already told us in his Catalogue of twenty-one of Lord Leicester's Illuminated Manuscripts, how Thomas Coke bought forty manuscripts from the convent of the Augustins déchaussés at Lyons. We have seen that 3,000 French livres were paid for these. Among them are the splendid 'Chroniques d'Hainault', executed for the family of



Berlaimont Ligne, and the still finer 'Chroniques de Flandres', executed for Charles the Bold and Margaret of York; a fine Horace and Persius (318), one of nearly twenty immense volumes executed for Raphael de Marcatellis, Abbot of St. Bavon at Ghent, natural son of Philippe le Bon, which are now at Holkham and are interesting as evidence of the conservatism of a grand seigneur of the later fifteenth century, who could not brook that his library should be polluted by print. There are a noble Seneca (370), and a still nobler Livy (344), both of which belonged to Lipsius, and, later, to Don Gaspar de Haro, son of Olivares, as did others now at Holkham; a thirteenth-century Codex Legum Visigothorum (212), which Madden believed to be unique in England; and a magnificent copy of Azo upon Justinian (206).

The large sum paid at Padua bought between thirty and forty manuscripts from the Monastery of St. John in Viridario. Most of these are fine books, and they have this additional merit that they record the names of their donors. Scardeoni in his 'De antiquitate urbis Patavii' (Basle, 1560), tells us about these learned and judicious men, and about the monastery, 'ubi est Bibliotheca prae ceteris admirabilis'. John Marchanova, 'philosophus et medicus, ac poeta illustris', and also an antiquary, was one; Johannes Bapt. Lignamine, Bishop of Concordia, was another, Papal Legate to Spain, France, and Venice. A third was John Calphurnius. He had a statue and a tomb in the Monastery Church with a Greek epitaph and also a Latin, whose concluding words, I hope, Holkham may be said to render true:

'Calphurni cineres sunt hic: possessor Olympi  
Est animus: volitat fama per ora virum.'

Lastly, and perhaps best, was the excellent priest, Peter de Montagnana. He taught in three languages and could write and read others. His biographer holds it as a miracle that any one should have collected so many and such precious



books, and he bequeathed them all to St. John in Viridario, whence many have come to Holkham. His books are, to use Chief Justice Coke's phrase, 'much quoted in the margent', and his script, both in Greek and Latin, is perfectly beautiful.

The Provost of Eton has reminded us that the touchstone of a gentleman's library used to be its possession of Greek manuscripts. Dr. Hobart must have instilled this doctrine into his pupil, who had already enriched himself with some forty Greek manuscripts when he returned to England in 1718. And there were many more to come. Sir Frederick Madden shall tell their story as it is written in his Catalogue of the Holkham Manuscripts: 'By a singular concurrence of dates and titles we were led to conclude that a great proportion of the Greek MSS. at Holkham were once in the Library of Julius Justinian, Procurator of St. Mark, a list of which was cursorily taken by Montfaucon in 1698, and published in his *Diarium Italicum* (4to, Paris, 1708, p. 433) and repeated in *Bibl. MSS.* vol. I, p. 483. All doubt was removed by our ascertaining that a note had been written by Montfaucon himself in each of the MSS., precisely corresponding to the notes he afterwards printed. Montfaucon again refers to these MSS. in his *Palaeographia Graeca*, p. xxiv, and states them to have been 80 in number "quorum plerique optimae notae". Before they came into the possession of Justinian, there is ample evidence to show that the larger portion belonged to two priests of Crete of the name of Morazenus, one of whom, Joannes, himself transcribed nearly all those which belong to the end of the 15th century.' Madden then gives some illuminating extracts from the Diary of Humphrey Wanley, Librarian to my Lord Harley (MS. Lansdowne 771):

'Jan 18, 17<sup>18</sup>/<sub>20</sub> Mr. Smith of Venice writes that the Giustiniani will not part with their MSS.'

April, same year, Lord Harley sends Mr. Andrew Hey to

purchase manuscripts in France and Italy, and says, 'At Venice, get a catalogue of Mr. Smith's MSS., and enquire 'how matters go about Giustiniani's Gk. MSS.' Mr. Wanley then notes several occasions on which his hopes are disappointed of seeing Mr. Coke of Norfolk's manuscripts; but he comes at length to the desired, and still disappointing, moment.

1721, May 18. 'Mr. Downes took me yesterday to 'Mr. Coke of Norfolk who shewed me part of his MSS. with 'much humanity for above 3 hours together, and will send 'to me to see the rest, as soon as he can have Leisure. He 'has bought all the MSS. of the family of Giustiniani at 'Venice; and the case wherein the Greek MSS. were, was 'first opened yesterday. He has also assurance of 300 MSS. 'more, to be sent to him soon.'

More than seventy of Montfaucon's list are certainly at Holkham, and the whole number of Greek manuscripts approaches 120. A few more can be traced. One Iliad and Batrachomyomachia is from the Strozzi Library; it was collated by Maittaire, as was an earlier copy of the same, formerly Pietro de Montagnana's. Several were in Bernardino Trevisani's collection and were seen there by Montfaucon; a Carmina Sibyllina (266) was bought in 1689 by Abr. Seidel from a monastery in Thessaly; John Calphurnius owned one (276) of the three Plutarchs; Isocrates has 'Marc Musurus et amicorum meorum' inscribed in him. But, unless M. Dorez knows, the secret is lost of the *provenance* of the two Byzantine Gospels of the xi-xii century, one of which (4) is remarkable for its giving the emblems of the Evangelists as well as their portraits, a feature, I believe, unusual, if not unknown in Byzantine illumination before the fourteenth century; nor do we know whence came the Pindars, the two Aristophanes (269, 270), which Madden thought well deserving of collation, two of the Greek Psalters (19, 20), the Hippocrates (282), the Aesop (278), or the eleventh-century Lexicon of St.

Cyrl (289), of which Madden writes, 'It is the most beautiful specimen of Greek calligraphy ever produced.'

I think about 300 of Thomas Coke's manuscripts bear marks of their former ownership. Among the more agreeable manuscripts to handle, with pleasant thoughts of those who once owned them, are the 'Libro della Natura' written by Leonardo da Vinci's own hand, which afterwards belonged to Giuseppe Ghezzi, pittore, who says he bought it 'con gran forza d'oro'; the volume of sketches and memoranda attributed to the hand of Raphael; the Dante of Aeneas Sylvius; the Boccaccio painted by Taddeo Crivelli for Alberto d'Este; the lovely prayer-book of Lorenzo de' Medici and Clarice Orsini; a 'Statuta' of Queen Elizabeth's; Cardinal Grimani's Aristotle; beautiful books of Bernardo Rota, the poet; Gian Filiazzi's Cicero with its picture of Cicero having his throat cut; books of Filippo Maria Sforza, Gonzaga, Loredano, Nicholas Fortiguerra, and other eminent Italians. And the 'wondrous charm of antiquity' is surely felt by those who open certain ninth-century volumes, the Cicero that has the press-mark of Cluny, or the Gospels which Lutharius the deacon wrote for the community at Schutthorn about A.D. 800.

So this remarkable boy, Thomas Coke, returns to England with some delightful possessions. He has bought statues and pictures and many beautiful 'incunabula' as well. The '300 more MSS.' of which he told Mr. Wanley may have come, I think, for in 1722 £34 was paid for the freight of 'books from oversea'. He has shown a catholic taste. Some may think, perhaps, that there are too many manuscripts of Fathers of the Church, and ecclesiastical writers of the Middle Ages, though I believe these contain legends, and *variae lectiones* which are found refreshing by the more crude palates which can taste them. But there are classics besides those already mentioned, the Odyssey, Herodotus, Xenophon, Theognides, Sophocles, Maximus Tyrius, Onosander;

several later Greek writers on philosophical, geographical, and astrological subjects, whom Madden regarded as interesting and important; Terence (three manuscripts); nine Virgils, of which several are beautiful, and one of the twelfth century; six of Horace, the same of Ovid; Lucan; Juvenal and Persius; Statius; Sallust (four); Caesar (four); Livy (fourteen); Tacitus; Valerius Maximus, Eutropius; Orosius, 'a very valuable MS.'; a Propertius, unluckily not quite perfect; and various later Latin authors. Among orators, philosophers, &c., there are nineteen Ciceros; Asconius Pedianus; Pomponius Mela; a fine Pliny's Natural History; Apuleius de Magia; Macrobius; Cassiodorus; Priscian; Boethius; an eleventh-century Isidorus of Seville; a collection of *Scriptores Rei Agrariae et Geometricae*, which Madden considered of remarkable interest, and ascribed to the twelfth century; and three cinquecento collections of ancient epitaphs and inscriptions found in Italy. These were lent in 1870 to Mommsen, who wrote to the late Lord Leicester: 'By far the most important is the collection of Inscriptions from Frioul and the German and Italian districts near to it, made by Giacomo Valvasone of Maniago. We had from other libraries some of his minor notices, and imperfect extracts made by Muratori from your volume: this seemed lost, and so it was impossible to arrive to certain conclusions about this author. Now I have been able to add some inscriptions hitherto unknown to my *Supplementa*, and also to join him (Valvasone) to the long list of forgers. Happily his original productions are easily found out, and the main part of his copies is good and useful. The MS. is autograph, that is, written under the direction of Valvasone himself, and corrected by him, and is certainly unique. You will have observed at the close the notice about Giovanni da Udine, which my friends tell me is of some interest for the story of that painter.' Later and Renaissance

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prose writers are very well represented. There is a Leopold de Northoff, *Origines Comitum de Marca*, which Dr. Levison of Bonn thought one of the oldest and most valuable, and perhaps in the author's hand; and, among several less well-known writers, there is a *History of Reggio* by Guido Pancirolli, which Madden believed to be the author's copy, and which was unpublished, at any rate when Madden wrote.

And what shall be said of the six fine copies of the *Divina Commedia*, two of them fourteenth-century, and showing, according to Panizzi, 'belle variante, buone e sconosciute lezioni'. One of them has remarkable illuminated pictures on every page. Madden described these as 'executed in a very rude and singular style', but then, borrowing his language from Mary Bennett, he admitted that 'perhaps they are not wholly without merit'.

The Holkham manuscript of the *Convivio* is now known to scholars. But a specially interesting part of Thomas Coke's manuscripts is the very large collection of Italian chronicles of cities, Capitolari and Commissioni of Venice, and Ricordi or Relazioni of State affairs, and reports of different countries made by Envoys to their Government. Many of these contain original documents of state, and Madden described some of them as 'very curious' and 'well worthy of attention by historians', as being inedited in his time. There are more than 100 manuscripts of this kind. Madden also thought well of the manuscripts of 'Synods and Councils and Conclaves, etc.', particularly a twelfth-century Greek 'Definitiones Synodum Eccles: Graec:' which has a double series of accents throughout to guide the voice in reading or chanting the text; a collection of 87 original documents connected with the Papal administration in the early seventeenth century; and Sarpi's *History of the Council of Trent*, in his own handwriting, is a volume which all who love Venice should delight to look upon.

At first Thomas Coke is active about his library in matters both small and great. He lends some of his Livy's to Drakenborch, and like his successors at Holkham, is at all times willing that scholars should make use of his manuscripts. An early item in the library account is 'Mousetraps to set among the books'. But gradually his love for the manuscripts seems to have waned. He marries; he has to build a palace to contain his treasures; he resumes his cock-fighting with enthusiasm and keeps two packs of hounds. As to this, however, we may remember that Roger Ascham loved a cock-fight. He becomes a politician and is made Lord Lovel and, later, Earl of Leicester. He cares for his printed books and clothes them in magnificent morocco and the finest calf, but he leaves his manuscripts coverless as they had come to him. But they are properly arranged on their shelves in the Library, so that there is no reason to suppose them forgotten. Thomas Coke dies in 1759, and his widow has left many records of the uncommon care she took of her possessions. In 1769 she sends her Hebrew manuscripts to Dr. Kennicott, and in 1775 an Inventory, not quite complete, of the manuscripts is made by some one conversant with manuscripts and books. This was afterwards seen and copied by Sir Thomas Philipps.

### III

In 1776 the present Lord Leicester's grandfather, Thomas William Coke, succeeded to Holkham with its library. Agriculture, politics, and sport were the more engrossing occupations of his life, and the manuscripts remained where they were until a memorable year dawned for them, 1814, when William Roscoe, whose name is never to be pronounced without respect at Holkham, paid his first visit to them. All of them coverless, and some of them injured by damp and the worm, no doubt they looked poorly. Still, they were there,



and several scholars already knew something of the library. Sir James Smith had written of its delights; Roger Wilbraham, F.R.S. and Fellow of Trinity, says, 'For 24 years I have 'been hoping to see the MSS. properly examined and 'clothed.' The Duke of Sussex was a constant visitor, but it was Roscoe who persuaded Mr. Coke to take the manuscripts in hand; they were sent to him at Liverpool to be cleansed and bound by one Mr. John Jones, while Roscoe examined them with the view of compiling a catalogue. Mr. Jones worked hard for eight years at his task, giving up every other labour, and was only once obliged to stop, while he pursued a son who had eloped with a young lady to Ireland. His bill for binding nearly 750 volumes and repairing them when required, was £1,144, which Lord Spencer thought amazingly moderate. Roscoe, in spite of ill health and many financial troubles, worked on the catalogue, receiving assistance from Dean Gaisford, Mr. Douce, Panizzi, and others, until 1825, when he says he has enough material to fill a respectable volume, but 'wishes for a coadjutor of 'distinguished scholarship, to revise and prepare the Catalogue 'for publication'. He writes modestly enough, 'The great 'variety of languages and subjects . . . renders it perhaps 'impossible for any one person (especially for one who is an 'interloper and not a professor in such matters) to appear 'before the public without committing errors.' Mr. Madden is engaged, and begins his revision of Roscoe in March 1826. Soon Mr. Roscoe 'is more than delighted by the unrivalled 'knowledge and industry' of his coadjutor. But at length the child swallows up the parent. By November 1827 Mr. Madden's 'corrections and additions' are so numerous that the Catalogue would fill many volumes. Roscoe is perhaps unwilling to 'appear before the public' in any other capacity but that of the Catalogue's chief editor. At any rate, he advises Mr. Coke that the expenses of printing will be



prohibitive. Mr. Madden copies out the whole ; it is bound by Jones in eight folio volumes ; and it remains at Holkham, a monument of Roscoe's literary enthusiasm, of Madden's scholarship and industry.

For we know now that this Catalogue is almost entirely Madden's work. He bequeathed his Diaries and Correspondence to the Bodleian, with instructions that they were not to be examined until 1920. From an inspection of these documents we learn that Madden, on the first of his two visits to Holkham, was astounded at the quality of the manuscripts. 'They are superb,' he writes, 'and valuable beyond any estimate, equal to most of those at the British Museum or Oxford. But Roscoe has done little or nothing to the Catalogue. It would take a year to do it properly.' He had not even touched the Greek Fathers, with whom Madden is soon assisted by Archdeacon Glover, 'a profound scholar', who had assisted Pettigrew with the Duke of Sussex' catalogue. For two and a half years Madden works on the Catalogue, which he begins to find 'very troublesome', at Oxford and the British Museum. There are petulant entries in the Diary : 'Finished the Greek Fathers, damn them, they have given me more trouble than they are worth.' Madden was violently angry at the decision not to print the Catalogue, by which he hoped to gain considerable reputation, and permitted himself strong language about Mr. Coke and the Catalogue. He reveals himself in his diaries and letters as the victim of a 'Sensibility' not surpassed by that of Miss Marianne Dashwood herself, and, while working on the Catalogue, he was troubled by many cares, affairs of the heart, and anxieties about his prospects of a place in the British Museum. Now he writes that he is working 'con amore', now that he detests 'this long and tedious business'. So that it is not surprising to find his work unequal, and that errors of detail are to be detected in it. Palaeographical knowledge has increased so

much since 1828, that some of Madden's judgements as to the date of manuscripts would now have to be revised. But his Catalogue contains a considerable amount of valuable comment, description, and information. Roscoe made use of it for a paper he contributed on the Holkham manuscripts to the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, which will be found in vol. ii.

Thomas William Coke added seven manuscripts of the very first class to the library. In 1816 Mr. Roscoe sold his library and his pictures, and Mr. Coke expressed his willingness to buy whatever Mr. Roscoe would wish to see at Holkham. It is a subject rather painful to dwell upon, for Roscoe made out a far too modest list of books and manuscripts, otherwise the library, rich as it is, would have been considerably richer. It is true that among the printed books, he desired Mr. Coke to buy his extraordinarily fine *Biblia Pauperum* and the Mainz Psalter of 1459, for which mercy thanks are due to him. But he had ten manuscripts which should all have been transferred to Holkham. Only one was secured, and that with difficulty. It is the exquisite Bible which M. Dorez has described as 'one of the most beautiful books executed 'in the first half of the XIVth century, belonging perhaps to 'the Anti Pope Clement VII'. Roscoe had bought this from one Mme Jobè, of Rouen, for 'between £60 and £70, 'with the binding'. He could not advise Mr. Coke to offer more than £100 for it, but Mr. Coke seems to have been desirous of possessing it. Roscoe accordingly went up to £150, but two Liverpool booksellers gave £178, like Dodson and Fogg, 'on speculation'. This done, another letter arrives from Mr. Coke, in consequence of which Roscoe goes to the booksellers and induces them to part with their prize for 200 guineas.

In the same letter in which these facts are communicated, Roscoe writes: 'I am sending in a chest of lately bound

'MSS. a very curious MS. just brought here from the Continent, being a history of the Old and New Testament represented in figures as a preparation for a Block-book, and which I think one of the greatest curiosities I ever saw. My auctioneer, Winstanley, bought it from a Catholic priest who brought it to him, for £28, and offers it to me for £30, at which if you should take a liking for such a dislocated set of figures on account of their antiquity, it is quite at your service. I believe there is not such another in the kingdom, if in existence.' This is the delightful volume described by M. Dorez under the title of 'Bible en Images', executed in England at the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century. It is also referred to by Sir G. Warner in his description of Queen Mary's Psalter as being of singular interest artistically and otherwise. No trace has been found of the *provenance* of the magnificent Virgil in two volumes, with Flemish school miniatures, and the text dated 1474, which we find Roscoe sending to Mr. Coke in 1818. These volumes are still clothed in their original binding of stamped calf, with great metal bosses. M. Dorez thinks that Roscoe must have sacrificed many ancient bindings precious to the eyes of an antiquary, during the process of putting the manuscripts in order. He seems to echo the lament of the books in 'Philobiblon' about their 'Vestibus . . . datis antiquitus, violentis manibus laceratis'. But I trust Mr. Roscoe may stand cleared of such an imputation. He says distinctly that he found the manuscripts 'deprived of their original covers'; and in a letter dated 2 February 1815 he writes, 'In case the ancient binding is in any tolerable condition it is better to preserve it than to change it for the finest modern binding,' and again, 'I am always desirous of retaining the ancient binding wherever it can be preserved.'

In 1818 also Mr. Coke was lucky enough to buy two

Gospels and two Missals which formerly belonged to the Abbey of Weingarten in Suabia. The Gospels are Anglo-Saxon, perhaps of the Winchester school, the Missals are German of the twelfth and early thirteenth century. All are in their original bindings of oak boards, varying in thickness from three-quarters of an inch to an inch and a half, and covered with red leather. The upper covers are adorned with figures of silver gilt in high relief, and delicate filagree work set with pearls and precious stones. But they have been so admirably described and illustrated in M. Dorez' Catalogue that it is not needful to describe them again, though their history may be touched upon. The Anglo-Saxon Gospels were given to the Abbey of Weingarten by the Lady Judith, daughter of Baldwin, Earl of Flanders. Her first husband was Tosti, Earl of Northumberland and brother of King Harold. Tosti being slain at Stamford Bridge, his wife fled to Bruges, doubtless carrying her two British manuscripts with her. She afterwards married Duke Guelf the Fourth. We have but to fetch Monk Symeon from a neighbouring shelf in the library in order to become acquainted with this lady and her love for fine manuscripts and costly bindings. 'Tosti', says Symeon, 'always held the church of St. Cuthbert in veneration, and adorned it with no scanty gifts. . . . His wife, also, Judith, . . . an honourable and devout woman, exceedingly loved St. Cuthbert and contributed many 'ornaments to his Church.' He then tells the story how Judith promised to give yet more gifts, yea, even landed possessions, if she might be allowed to enter the church (which St. Cuthbert had forbidden to women) and pray at his shrine. How she began by sending her maid, thinking that if the maid got in safely, the mistress might follow; and how the poor damsel had scarcely set foot in the churchyard when a gust of wind attacked her and racking pains followed 'which ended only with her life'. How the terrified Countess

sought to make amends with 'a richly ornamented Crucifix, 'and images of our Lady and St. John which she clad in gold 'and silver and offered them and many other ornaments to 'the church.' Did not M. Dorez pronounce that the covers of her Gospels are of continental workmanship, it would be pleasant to think that they had been executed in England, like their contents, and originally intended for St. Cuthbert. The cover of the later of the Missals is also a reliquary, with the names engraved of the powerful saints whose bones lie within, Our Lady herself, and also SS. Bartholomew, Thomas, Peter, Paul, James, George, and Oswald. These four manuscripts had been looted from the castle of Fulda (where was preserved the library of Weingarten) by General Thiebault in 1806. He admits in his memoirs that, while sending some to the Imperial Library at Paris, and others to the Library of Fulda, he kept several for himself. In October 1818 one Mr. Phillipps, an auctioneer of London, informs Mr. Coke that he has four rich manuscripts to dispose of at a price of £200. They come from M. Delahante, a dealer in Paris. Mr. Roger Wilbraham is sent to inspect them, and he reports in a few days: 'The MSS. are more curious for their 'bindings than their contents, these bindings being of embossed silver, one of them apparently of gold, but possibly 'only of gilt metal. They are enriched with precious stones 'which are probably of little value.' My friend Mr. Douce, who was Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum, writes: 'The covers of 3 of the MSS. are the most interesting 'parts of them, the 4th is curious for its antiquity, about the '9th or 10th century. MSS. with such covers are extremely 'rare everywhere, nor do I remember to have seen any in 'this country. They have not more than 8 or 10 in the 'Royal Library at Paris.' In a second letter, Mr. Douce proceeds: 'The MSS. are doubtless worthy of being placed 'in any collection. . . . The paintings are rude and of little

'value, as being of common subjects. If I was an affluent collector, I should not scruple to offer 100 or 150 Guineas for them.' It is as well for Holkham that Nollekens had not at that time left his fortune to Mr. Douce. Mr. Coke apparently boggles at the price demanded. It is but two years since he spent £2,000 for pictures and books at Roscoe's sale, and bills are coming in from Jones the book-binder. So Wilbraham writes a fortnight later, that he will try and bring down Mr. Phillipps to the terms mentioned by Mr. Coke. He will be very wily, but he urges Mr. Coke to secure the manuscripts, 'for he has just heard that Mr. Heber is in town, a dangerous rival.' Sir Francis Palgrave is sent to inspect and he reports enthusiastically but adds: 'I did not make any notes on the spot, lest Mr. Auctioneer should thereby be induced to set a higher value on his treasures.' On 20 October Mr. Wilbraham reports to Mr. Coke: 'Phillipps thinks £200 ridiculously too high, an idea which I encouraged very much, and he promised to write to the owner at Paris to urge him to make a further reduction of his demands. Mr. Phillipps was very anxious to send them down to you, which I affected to discourage very much, though, in fact, I was more anxious for that measure than he was, lest they should be seen by Mr. Grenville, Mr. Heber, or the Marquis of Douglas, who would snap them up even at the high price now asked. Mr. P. told me he had advanced £100 upon the MSS. and the duties, carriage, etc. come to £15 more. I pretended to think he would have some difficulty in covering his own advance and expenses, which he himself seemed to fear, and he was pleased at my saying that the most I could advise you to give would be 100 Guineas. The consequence is that they will be sent down to you by the Fakenham coach to-morrow, and it may be advisable that they should leave Holkham no more.' They have left Holkham only once, when they were sent to



Mr. Roscoe for purposes of his Catalogue, and travelled—Judith's precious volumes—by 'Goldby's waggon from the George Inn, Smithfield'. Mr. Dibdin saw them as they passed through London, and declared that, had he met with them abroad, he would have given £500 for them for Lord Spencer.

Since that year, so eventful for the Holkham Library, when Mr. Douce belittled Early English work as rude and common, and the inconceivable haggling went on over the price—it would seem as if the Parisian dealer had consented to take 100 guineas—no more manuscripts have been added to the collections made by Edward, by Thomas, and by Thomas William Coke, except a volume of household accounts kept by Chief Justice Coke's first wife, Bridget Paston, in 1597. This was bought for £50 at Mr. Ord's sale in 1829: £50! the price paid a few years previously for the fine copy of the Mainz Psalter. Half a dozen overlooked by Roscoe are at this moment being repaired and bound, and will soon rejoin their ancient companions on the shelves. The memory of the three collectors is kept green at Holkham, that of the chief collector especially so, perhaps, in winter, from one rather curious circumstance. The Holkham farms used to be held by a tenure which he, Thomas Coke, must have highly approved—the payment at Christmas time of two fine fighting-cocks to the Lord of the Manor. In humaner days this has been commuted for a good fat turkey.



THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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## THE EARLY CAREER OF EDWARD RABAN, AFTERWARDS FIRST PRINTER AT ABERDEEN

By E. GORDON DUFF<sup>1</sup>

IN 1886 Mr. Edmond published his very careful and valuable book on the Aberdeen printers. As a bibliography it has always been considered a model piece of work, and its excellence has always appeared the more noteworthy to those who understood the very hampering conditions under which it was conceived and carried out.

As inevitably happens, no sooner was the book published than new and important sources of information came to light, and Mr. Edmond in 1888 contributed to *Scottish Notes and Queries* a few short articles on the later discoveries. These were afterwards reprinted in a small pamphlet entitled *Last Notes on the Aberdeen Printers*, issued in the very limited edition for private circulation of fifty-six copies.

At that time Mr. Edmond had moved from Aberdeen to London, and his time was fully occupied with his duties as a librarian at Sion College, and with outside literary work; so that, being far removed from all the original sources of information and in an entirely changed atmosphere, he seems never to have followed up the various clues which the newly discovered books afforded, or to have worked further at Raban's books. That he would have done so when opportunity offered can hardly be doubted, but unfortunately that opportunity never came. In the present paper I have made full use of his later discoveries, and from these, together with other new material, have endeavoured to build up the story of the adventurous early life of the Aberdeen printer and

<sup>1</sup> Read before the Bibliographical Society, 19 December 1921.

trace his career before he settled down in the North for the last thirty-seven years of his life. As a lad he had an eventful career, surpassed only by that of an Aberdeen lad and Scottish printer of the century following, Peter Williamson, who was kidnapped when playing in the street, shipped off to America, and there sold as a slave.

In 1886 all that was known about Raban was summed up in Edmond's introduction in one sentence: 'Upon the authority of the Parson of Rothiemay we are informed that Edward Raban was an English man by birth; and had we been disposed to doubt this source, the matter is at once set at rest by the imprint of one of his own books in which he styles himself Edwardus Rabanus, Anglus. Like so many more of his countrymen who followed the same profession he came North in search of a suitable field in which to exercise his craft.'

The discovery of a little book in the library of Lord Crawford at Haigh Hall threw a flood of light upon Raban's early career. It is a small octavo probably originally consisting of 72 leaves but now wanting all before C1. It is divided into three parts headed respectively, 'Raban's Resolution against Drunkenness,' 'Raban's Resolution against Whoredome,' and 'Raban's Resolution against Sabbath-breakers.' The author under each heading begins with extracts from Bible history and profane history, and then passes to more modern examples derived from his own experiences. One from the first part is as follows:

I remember that in the year of Christ 1600, there was no small stir in England (especially in and about London) with mustering, pressing, furnishing and sending of Captains and Soldiers into Flanders to assist the estates of the Netherlands, who sent out their forces in the defence of God's quarrel and their own, under the conduct of the most worthy prince and champion, Maurice of Nassau. And at which time also it was my silly fortune to march from London with our English Cavellieroes. But I remember what merry days we had in London before we took shipping, for we made day and night all one,

with eating, drinking, playing, swearing, etc. There bankrout voluntary Gentlemen, bankrout Merchants and citizens, with runaway prentices, hail fellow, well met; he that could not quaff off a dozen pots of beer or a pottle of wine, and swear an hour together, he was not fit to go in our company. But hearken what followed hereupon: forsooth (not to dismay any good soldier) as soon as we were shipped, the common sort must bite in an hard biscuit, and content himself twice a day with a can of ship's bitter beer betwixt two and two, and afterward betwixt two a biscuit, and a can of water amongst four: yea before we landed at Philippina our brave Gallants were glad to receive the drops of rain, and such water as dropped from the ropes and sails of the ship, in their beaver hattes, to quench their thirst. And this was yet but a beginning of sorrows, for being landed we marched forwards driving the Spaniards out of this scance and that fort, till we came before Newport, and shortly after were sharply assaulted by Albertus of Austenrich, yet through the help of God we slew at least six thousand of the Spanish side, took many prisoners, and returned into Holland with victory.

Here we have an interesting picture of young Raban, doubtless one of the runaway apprentices, for as he did not die until 1658 he must have been a lad in 1600.

The war in which Raban was engaged was the long conflict between the Protestant states of the Low Countries and the rule of Spain, between William of Orange and Philip of Spain, which beginning in 1572 continued for thirty-seven years. By 1600 both William and Philip were dead and the war was being carried on by Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange, and the Archduke Albert. Both sides were strongly reinforced, and at the fierce battle of Nieuport, near Ostend, the Spaniards gave way. The Spaniards under Spinola continued the war vigorously, but his troops mutinied and he pronounced the subjugation of the United Provinces impracticable. Spain was forced to treat with the Dutch, and finally in 1609 a ten-years' truce was signed at the Hague.

The next piece of autobiography comes from another book printed by Raban at St. Andrews in 1622. It is entitled, *The Pope's New Years Gifts, Anno 1622. Containing a Discoverie of the Abuses of the Romane Clergie. Written first in Latine by sundrie Authors of their owne Profession: And now*

*translated into English by G. L.* It is a quarto of twenty leaves, of which the first and last are wanting, and the only known copy is in the Advocates' Library. An interesting fact about it is that the translator G. L. is almost certainly George Lauder, grandson of Sir Richard Maitland, Lord Lethington, who joined the English army, and, like Raban, himself served as a soldier in the Low Countries. In the address of 'The Printer to the Pope' the printer tells us more of himself :

But yet before I leave I must tell your Holiness what were the first occasions, even from mine Infancy, why I could not settle my fancy in your Religion. After that I had served the worthy Estates of Holland full ten years in their tedious wars, I resolved to travel farther and see fashions. Then I took my journey from Ryneberke towards Colonia Agrippina, and from thence forward to Mentz, Frankford, Worms, Frankendale, Spier, Strasburg, etc., where I found company who were bound to visit the holy City of Rome, and I resolved to go with them. But when we came to the Alps, I was constrained to turn back again with certain English gentlemen who came from Rome ; and because their guide was dead by the way they hired me, and I convoyed them through all Germany, even to Hamburg, visiting all the fair cities and the churches as we went. And when we came into a Papish Church, it was delicately decorated with fair images and burning torches and lamps at noon-dayes : but the Lutherans were nothing so brave : as for the Calvinists they durst not preach within three mile of any town. Then again I beheld the Papish priest, he ate and drank the Sacramental Bread and Wine himself alone, and gave the people nothing till all was done, and then he came and sprinkled them with water. But the Lutherans were better fellows, the priest gave every one as much as he took himself ; and the Calvinists dealed it amongst themselves.

This extract takes us farther in Raban's career. Going off as a soldier he was in the wars on the Continent for full ten years. After this he wandered about from city to city in Germany, and finally acted as courier to an English party returning in a leisurely fashion from Rome. Putting the sum of all this at twelve years, we know all his occupation between 1600 and 1612. We have still to account for the eight years between 1612 when he was on the Continent and 1620 when he appeared as a printer in Edinburgh.

This period was certainly spent on the Continent, for after Raban had come to Scotland he speaks of himself in a preface as 'a stranger to the soil', and his ignorance as to whether his uncle Peter was alive shows that he had not been in England. He had conducted his travellers as far as Hamburg; when next we meet with him he is settled in Leyden. It is not improbable, in the light of his later career, that when he ran away from London to be a soldier he was an apprentice to a printer. There is at any rate no doubt that he took up this trade during the interval between 1612 and 1620.

Writing in 1622 in his 'Resolution against Drunkenness' in the section relating to Sabbath-breakers, he gives the following instances:

It is well known to myself that within few years there was a servant man to a rich farmer in Gelder Land who built himself a cottage house upon the Sabbath days. And being married and dwelling therein, the same house on the Sabbath day was consumed with fire, himselfe burnt and his cattle smothered. His wife being in the kirk, came running with her neighbours and might well lament her husband, but no ways help him. Yea, a master whom I served in mine owne science in the fair city of Leyden had it aye for a custom to boil his printing varnish on the Sabbath days in a garden house without the city; till at last his house took fire, and burnt the house, himself, and his only daughter. He being a rich man died thus miserable leaving none issue to inherit his trash.

With this curious piece of information about the fate that befell his master I had hopes that we might be able to discover the identity of that printer, that in some history or amongst the records there might be an entry relating to so tragic a disaster, but so far I have not been able to obtain any information upon that point.

I wrote to one reputed authority in Leyden asking if anything was known of a rich printer who died childless between 1610 and 1620, and I received a post-card with the information that only one Leyden printer died during that period and he left a family. As I had definite records of at least a dozen Leyden printers who died during that period I could not

consider the reply to my query satisfactory, and I still look forward to obtaining from some source or other a full identification of the man. In those leisurely days any untoward event became a nine days' wonder, especially when, as in the present case, it was to be considered as a 'judgment', and would probably occasion a ballad or broadsheet, or find its way into local chronicles or sermons.

The eight years between 1612 and 1620 are now partly accounted for. Raban was working as an assistant to a Leyden printer who died during the period, and he was thus left stranded. Now, as an Englishman, it is quite reasonable to suppose that he would seek work with one of the Leyden printers to whom his knowledge of the language would be valuable. There were several printers who issued English books: Jan Claez van Dorpe (1596-1648), Hendrik van Haestens (1598-1629), Jacob Marcus (1609-54), Jan Paedts Jacobsz (1569-1629), and others. But of all such presses then at work in Leyden one stands out of peculiar interest, and I think there can be little doubt that it was there that Raban was employed, the celebrated 'Pilgrim Press' carried on between 1617 and 1619 by William Brewster and Thomas Brewer.

William Brewster was educated at Peterhouse, Cambridge, and later entered the service of William Davison whom he accompanied on an embassy to the Low Countries in 1585-7. From 1594-1607 he was 'postmaster' at Scrooby, but becoming involved in the separatist movement was compelled to fly to the Continent. He and his followers settled first at Amsterdam, but passed on soon to Leyden, and there as a means of support started a printing press assisted with money by Thomas Brewer, a wealthy sympathizer. About 1616 Brewster purchased his press, type, and other material and set to work. In 1617 two books were issued, Thomas Cartwright's *Commentarii in Proverbia Salomonis* and William



Ames's *Rescriptio contracta*. Both these books were non-controversial, and contain imprints with Brewster's name and address. After this all the publications of the press were issued anonymously. When inquiries were set on foot about the press two other works were openly avowed by Brewster: *De vera et genuina Jesu Christi religione*, and Thomas Cartwright's *Confutation of the Rhemish translation*, a bulky folio. These were both issued in 1618 and, like the two earlier, were non-contentious as regards the British Government. These four books, and two others to be mentioned shortly, which at the examination certain experienced printers affirmed from an examination of the type to have been printed by Brewster, are all that can with certainty be ascribed to his press. There are, however, beyond these a number, some dozen or so, of controversial and Brownists' tracts of 1618 and 1619 which may come from this press. These, however, still await a careful typographical examination before the question can be settled.

The two books with which we are most concerned were issued in 1619. They relate to the affairs of the Church in Scotland, and their publication resulted in the suppression of the Pilgrim Press. Both were the work of David Calderwood the celebrated Presbyterian apologist. The first, the *Perth Assembly*, was an attack on King James's violent attempt to force Episcopacy upon the Scottish nation at the General Assembly which sat at Perth in August 1618. Calderwood was at this time hiding in Scotland, generally at Cranstoun. Having written his attack on prelacy it was sent over to Holland to be printed, and the printed copies were smuggled back into Scotland, packed in vats, as early as April 1619. Its publication caused a great stir, and in June the Edinburgh bookseller James Cathkin was apprehended on suspicion of being concerned in its publication and was examined by no less a person than the King himself. He was able to prove

that he had no hand in the matter, and after a short imprisonment was set at liberty.

Meanwhile Sir Dudley Carleton, British Ambassador in Holland, had been inquiring into the matter and wrote from The Hague in July 1619: 'I have seen within these two days ' a certain Scottish book called Perth Assembly written with ' much scorn and reproach of the proceedings in that Kingdom ' concerning the affairs of the Church. It is without name ' either of author or printer, but I am informed it is printed ' by a certain English Brownist of Leyden, as are most of the ' Puritan books sent over of late days into England.' The other book by Calderwood was the *De regimine Ecclesiae Scoticae brevis Relatio*. Concerning it Sir Dudley Carleton wrote to Sir Robert Naunton apropos of Brewer's examination: 'Amongst the books touching which I have caused ' him to be examined, I have inserted some, as that "Ames ' "in Grevincovium", which as he cannot deny, so he may, ' and doth, confess it without difficulty: but by that ' character [i. e. type] he is condemned of the rest. And ' certain experienced printers, which have viewed the letters ' [i. e. type], affirm that all and every one of the books with ' which he is charged, particularly those "De regimine ' "Ecclesiae Scoticae" and "Perth Assembly" were printed ' with them.'

As these two books are so intimately associated with Scottish history, and of such interest, I quote another letter about them in full. I may add for those who wish to follow farther, that much of this correspondence is reprinted in Arber's *Story of the Pilgrim Fathers*:

Sir Dudley Carleton to Sir Robert Naunton.

Right Honourable. By letters of 14th and 17th of this present, by Marten the post, of which I sent the duplicates by my Lord Lisle, the 18th; I advertised your Honour of all we had here worth his Majesty's knowledge.

And, withal, I sent your Honour a book intituled 'Perth Assembly'; of which, finding many copies dispersed at Leyden, and from thence some sent

into England, I had reason to suspect it was printed in that town, but upon more particular enquiry, do rest somewhat doubtful.

Yet in search after that book I believe I have discovered the printer of another, 'De regimine Ecclesiae Scoticanæ,' which His Majesty was informed to be done in Middelburg; and that is one William Brewster, a Brownist, who hath been for some years, an inhabitant and printer at Leyden, but is now, within these three weeks, removed from thence, and gone back to dwell in London, where he may be found out and examined not only of this book, 'De regimine Ecclesiae Scoticanæ' but likewise 'Perth Assembly'; of which if he was not the printer himself, he assuredly knows both the printer and the author.

For, as I am informed, he hath had, whilst he remained here, his hand in all such books as have been sent over into England and Scotland. As particularly a book in folio intituled 'A confutation of the Rhemists' Translation, Glosses, and Annotations on the New Testament;' anno 1618 was printed by him.

So was another in 160 'De vera et genuina Jesu Christi Domini et Salvatoris nostri Religione'; of which I send your Honour herewith the Title Page. And if you will compare that which is underlined therein with the other, 'De regimine ecclesiae Scoticanæ,' of which I send your Honour the Title-page likewise; you will find it in the same character. And the one being confessed, as that 'De vera et genuina Jesu Christi Religione', Brewster doth openly avow; the other cannot well be denied. This I thought fit, for his Majesty's service to advertise your Honour.

From the Hague, this 22nd of July 1619.

Sir Dudley Carleton having satisfied himself that Brewster was the printer immediately called on the authorities of Leyden to suppress his work, and in September 1619 they took the required action. A warrant was issued by the University under which Brewster's type and books were seized. Soon after this Brewster with many of his associates sailed to America. With the closing of the printing office, Raban, supposing him to have been an assistant, would have found himself out of work. The people with whom he had been associated had become unpopular and had mostly migrated to America. The hue and cry after the Brownists and all connected with them made England an undesirable place of refuge. There remained Scotland where Calderwood was popular, and it was perhaps through his advice, for he was at the time himself a refugee in Holland, that Raban started

to seek his fortune in Scotland as a printer. But apart from all this theorizing, plausible and probable as it appears, we come now to the strongest argument and one founded on fact, namely: much of the material used by Raban in his earliest Scottish books is identical with that used by Brewster at Leyden. A very short examination of books from the two presses will show that many of the ornaments and initials are the same, while some of the initials of both are marked by the same blemishes.

In September 1619 a certain quantity of type was seized which had been hidden in a garret at Brewer's house, and this was transferred for safe keeping to the University of which Brewer was a member, and which could protect his goods. How much of the type was here we do not know, but it appears to have been in the custody of the University until May 1620. What Raban possessed was not the type, but the initials and ornaments.

One point which specially wants inquiring into by some one with access to the original books is the resemblance or otherwise between Raban's work and that of the Pilgrim Press in matters of small detail. Method of using signatures, catchwords, numerals, and such minutiae should be compared, for once a printer has acquired small habits he generally quite unthinkingly and unintentionally continues them. On the other hand, a man who had been merely an assistant and obliged to follow the methods of his master, might follow out his own ideas on becoming his own master.

About Raban's earliest books there is still much to be learned, and two at least require more detailed examination. These are the second and fourth quoted by Edmond, with the following titles:

Viri Clarissimi A. Melvini Musae, et P. Adamsoni vita at Palinodia, et Celsae commissionis ceu delegatae potestatis Regiae in causis ecclesiasticis brevis et aperta descriptio. Anno M.DC.XX.

The second is

Parasynagma Perthense et juramentum Ecclesiae Scoticanæ et A.M. Antitamicategorica. Anno M.DC.XX.

Both of these are ascribed to the St. Andrews' press on account of their type. It would be, however, a strange thing for the 'Printer to the University' to issue two books by authors especially obnoxious to the 'Ruling powers'. The second book was a particularly dangerous one, consisting of another version of Calderwood's *Perth Assembly*, whose first publication brought about the suppression of Brewster's press and a hue and cry throughout Scotland, while the piece issued with it, Melville's *Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoria* (first published in 1604) was a violent attack on the universities of Oxford and Cambridge for passing resolutions hostile to the Puritans at the beginning of James I's reign.

The other Latin book of 1620 which has a full colophon with place and printer is the *Paraenesis ad Scotos* of Daniel Tilenus, a work deprecating the changes in the Presbyterian Church and attacking Calderwood and his followers. This last work so pleased King James that he invited the author to settle in England. Now it is difficult to imagine that a printer should issue from a university press books which were rigorously suppressed, the work of men who were living abroad for safety. As a new arrival in a new country it seems improbable that Raban would at once endanger his position by such a risky undertaking. It would certainly appear safer to leave the matter of the printer and place of production of these books an open question until they have undergone a very searching examination.

At St. Andrews Raban continued for about two years issuing some dozen books, but some time before July 1622 he had moved his press to Aberdeen. The reason for the migration we do not know, but it may have been at the instigation of Dr. Baron or Bishop Forbes. By the end of 1622 he was

settled at the 'Town's Arms', the accredited printer to the city and the university.

Having traced as far as possible Raban's personal history up to the time of his settling in Aberdeen, we may turn to another part of the subject and inquire about his family history.

All that Edmond remarked was, 'Upon the authority of the parson of Rothiemay we are informed that Edward Raban was an Englishman, and had we been disposed to doubt this source the matter is at once set at rest by the imprint of one of his own books in which he styles himself Edwardus Rabanus, Anglus'. So far so good, but unfortunately at the time Edmond did not know that in another book the printer signs himself, 'Edwardus Rabanus, Anglo Britannus, Gente Germanus,' which puts the matter in an entirely different light. The later expression puts it beyond all doubt that Raban was born in England of German parents.

The only relative that he mentions in any of his scraps of personal history is an uncle whom he somewhat undutifully admonishes in his *Resolution against Drunkenness*: 'Yet because my father's brother Peter Raban is a parson at Melton mobre in Wooster-shyre of England, I will be bold with him (if hee be yet alive) even to put him in remembrance of the doctrine of St. Paul who was the very pattern of chaste and zealous priesthood.' As the vicar of Melton Mowbray, which by the way is in Leicestershire, from 1613 to 1659 was the Rev. Zachary Cawdrey, we may presume, if Raban's assertion is correct, that his uncle had long been dead.

Another note of Raban's refers to his German ancestry. It occurs in his Almanack for 1625, of which Edmond had apparently never seen a copy:

Kings and princes shall be at stryfe with the Church: and the Kings shall prevayle. But if our jocund Papists get anie disturbance, they are not the



Church that is meant here. As for my boldnesse in but touching the Beast, I crave pardon in two respects: First, because this was written in the yeare of their Jubilie; for it is sayde that then they deale out mountains of mercie. (But if their mercie bee for money, I am to seeke.) Secondlie I crave my pardon even for Pope Joanna her Holines sake, in respect she was my native country woman, and was delivered of a goodlie childe in the streetes of Rome, going on procession.

Now according to all early historians, Pope Joan was a native of Mainz, and though we can hardly strain the point so far as to consider Raban intended to convey that he came from that city, he certainly meant that he was of German origin.

If we may consider Raban's choice of printing as a profession as due in any way to family tradition, we have at any rate some reason for connecting him with the great German family of printers and booksellers of the same name, the Rabans who worked in Frankfurt, Herborn, Wittenberg, and Helmstadt.

Nothing, as you are aware, is more difficult to obtain than information about continental printers of the second half of the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries, so that my information about the German Rabans is necessarily very incomplete. The first member of the family was George, who was printing at Frankfurt as early as 1561 and worked there at any rate until 1578. He was associated with the brothers Sigismund and John Feyrabend, who issued a number of handsome books illustrated by the best German wood-engravers. From 1582 to 1585 we find the office owned by Christopher Raban, who moved in 1587 to Herborn, where he set up its first press. In 1591 Bechtold Raban was printing at Frankfurt, but from 1603 to 1614 he was established as a bookseller in Wittenberg, and a book dated 1616 was published there by his heirs. The last of the name is Zacharias, who was at Helmstadt in 1620 and 1622. It should be noticed that these German Rabans, who generally spelt their name with an 'e' (Raben), also frequently in Latin colophons translated it into Corvinus (= German 'Raben', English 'Raven').

Our printer was not directly connected with them in any way, and had no typographical relations with them. They were all distinctly German, while Raban's printing material originated in Holland.

Edmond's attempt to discover anything about Raban's family and connexions through the columns of *Notes and Queries* produced only one reply, that 'there was a family of the name of Raban, booksellers at Olney, in Buckinghamshire sixty or eighty years since'. He added: 'I have been unable to follow up this information with inquiries on the spot which possibly might disclose a connection between the Olney Rabans and our "Laird of Letters", or, more probably, would be fruitless, for the surname is not of such uncommon occurrence as I at one time supposed.'

Knowing that Raban's parents or grandparents had come over from Germany to England, we have still to find out where they were settled. Our only clue at present is the assertion by Raban that his uncle, Peter Raban, was parson of Melton Mowbray. There is no trace of any one of that name having been a rector of Melton Mowbray, but it was a very large parish with four smaller churches attached, and Peter Raban may have been curate to one of these. One point to be noticed is that the name Raven is found frequently in the near neighbourhood between 1560 and 1640, some even in Melton Mowbray parish itself. I have found one person named Raban, a Deborah Raban whose will was proved at the Lichfield court (under which Melton Mowbray would come) in 1634, and a Richard Raben in 1569.

In Nichol's *History of Leicestershire* several monumental inscriptions are given of persons named Raven living in and around Melton Mowbray, one of them being a churchwarden there in the early years of the seventeenth century. In the Lists of Denizations published by the Huguenot Society there is no trace of any one who could be connected with the

family, but many of the foreigners who migrated to this country never took out letters of denization at all, especially those who settled in country districts.

There is another source of information, unfortunately not yet fully available, from which we might doubtless derive many new facts. This is the immense mass of records relating to the various subsidies levied at different times on the inhabitants of England. For taking a subsidy, full lists of the inhabitants of the various counties and towns were taken, and opposite each person the value of their property was given and the amount due as tax. Foreigners had to pay a double tax, so that even if no other information were forthcoming, this serves to identify those of foreign birth. In many cases, however, especially in the later subsidy lists, many details were given, the man's wife and family were enumerated and particulars given as to where he came from and how long he had been in the country. Lists of the aliens living in London from the time of Henry VIII to James I have been extracted from the various London rolls, and published by the Huguenot Society, but we find no Rabans in this list, making it almost certain that they lived in the country.

It is satisfactory to know that there are still some sources unworked from which we may expect to obtain definite information, subsidy rolls, wills, and parish registers, many of which are gradually appearing in print.

We have now been able to trace in fairly accurate outline the main points of Raban's career. As a lad he ran away and joined the army, presumably about the age of twenty, and served for the ten succeeding years in the Low Countries. Then after a year or two of wandering he settled down as a printer in Leyden. In 1619 the breaking up of the printing office compelled him to seek work elsewhere. That he should have gone to Scotland, to him an unknown land, rather than to England, his

own country and where he presumably had relatives, points to some strong motive for its avoidance ; and his implication in the publication of prohibited books once granted, the reason is not far to seek. After a short stay in Edinburgh in 1620 he moved on the same year to St. Andrews, and two years later settled permanently in Aberdeen. We may take his age at that time to have been a little over forty.

Forty years bring discretion, and we find Raban avoiding controversial books. In place of tracts by the virulent Presbyterians Melville and Calderwood, he prints books by Daniel Tilenus their milder opponent, but he soon discarded books of this class, and confined himself to the more orthodox business of printing notices and school-books for the Town Council, theses for the University authorities, sermons and theological discourses for the divines, and almanacs and lighter pieces for Melvill, the bookseller. Raban's first wife Janet Johnston died in 1627. By 1637 he was married again to Janet Ailhous, who appears to have survived him, but of his private life we at present know very little and that little only accidentally. In the preface to his peculiar compilation published in 1638, and entitled 'The Glorie of Man, consisting in the Excellencie and Perfection of Woman', he speaks of having been on the Continent during the latter part of 1637 and beginning of 1638, but with this exception he appears to have passed his life more or less peaceably at Aberdeen. In 1639 he and his wife were punished for brawling with some neighbours, and in the year following he was brought before the General Assembly on the charge of altering and abridging the prayers in his edition of the Book of Common Order. He was, however, pardoned and dismissed with a caution. Between 1640 and 1642 he appears to have got into difficulties. During these three years he issued only four books, and in 1641 was brought up at the Town House on account of a debt of sixty pounds 'Scots'.

The death, early in 1643, of his friend and constant employer, David Melvill the bookseller, must have been a severe blow to Raban, and for the remaining years of his life his productions decreased rapidly in number. During these fifteen years he only printed some twenty books, in fact at the end of 1649 he gave up his office, and in January 1650 the town appointed James Brown as his successor. Raban must even then have been an old man, but he lived on for another nine years, dying at the end of 1658, and on 6 December he was buried in St. Nicholas Churchyard, at the 'West Dyke'.

Whether Raban left any family is not known. Perhaps new discoveries may throw light on this and many other points. But there is one person of his name that is certainly deserving of mention, the Edward Raban who printed in France in the second half of the seventeenth century.

In 1656, two years before the Aberdeen printer's death, a little octavo book of twenty-four pages entitled *Les Antiquitez de la ville et cité d'Orange* was issued at Orange. In the Council book of that city under the date 30 January 1656 is a note setting forth that the Council has granted the sum of 36 livres to the Sieur Raban, printer of that town, as a recompense for a little book which he has printed about the antiquities of the said town, and which he has dedicated to the members of the town council, and has also presented certain copies to be deposited in the archives and given one to each town councillor.

Beyond this book I have so far found no mention of any other by this printer. He printed two editions of it at Nîmes in 1660 and 1662, and returning to Orange issued other editions in 1673, 1674, 1676, 1678, and 1681.

The British Museum has copies of three editions, the first, published at Orange in 1656, one published at Nîmes in 1660, and the third at Orange again in 1673.

Brunet in his description of the first edition enters it under

'Raban (Édouard) Ecossais', and I have always been anxious to know whether he derived 'Ecossais' from the title of the book or added it himself under the impression that this printer was identical with the Aberdeen one. The British Museum copy of this first edition unfortunately wants the title, so that we are still left in doubt. There is, however, no reference to 'Ecossais' either in the dedication or in any other part of the book, nor is it upon the title-page of the later editions. On the whole, therefore, it seems probable that it is an addition by Brunet, though he makes no mention of printing in Aberdeen which one would have expected.

The Christian name Edward was at that time a very uncommon one on the Continent, though common in England. Altogether it looks as though this printer might have some connexion with his namesake. There appears to have been a French family of Raban, for I possess a book with the autograph inscription 'Ex libris Petri Raban Veromandui, 'acolythi suessionensis', showing that this Peter Raban then resident at Soissons was a native of St. Quentin on the Somme.

## WORCESTER CATHEDRAL LIBRARY

FROM THE REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

CANON J. M. WILSON

TO THE DEAN AND CHAPTER, 19 Nov. 1921

I AM disposed, in this which may well be my last Librarian's Report, to give a somewhat fuller account than usual of the opportunities for research which this Cathedral Library offers. I hope that it may interest both present and future members of our Cathedral body. Our library possesses four documents or groups of documents, almost unique, and of the highest interest to students of history.

I. *The Early Worcester Manuscripts*. These are preserved in one of our showcases. They have been magnificently edited by Professor C. H. Turner at the cost of the University of Oxford. His preface at least should be read. 'These 'MS. fragments', he writes, 'are of an antiquity so remote 'that perhaps no other Cathedral Library, save only Durham, 'could produce their match.' They furnish almost the only surviving proof of the learning in the Church of England in pre-Danish days of which King Alfred speaks. Professor Turner's Introduction and Appendices show their value in other ways. His work is a splendid illustration of the intimate connexion between 'paleography and history'.

II. F. 24, *Vacarii Commentarius in Justiniani Codicem*. This is a manuscript of extreme rarity. Vacarius lectured at Oxford on Roman law 'about the year 1149' (Lib. Cat. by Floyer & Hamilton). He was silenced by King Stephen, and his works were destroyed as far as possible. This book, F. 24, has been lent since 26 November 1912 to Professor F. de Zulueta, Fellow of New College, and placed in the Bodleian



for his use. On 2 October 1921 Professor Zulueta asks for a further extension. He writes: 'I have in the last few months made very considerable progress, and I really think I shall have completed it in a year from now. At least I hope so. I had an Avranches MS. of the same work lent for a few months last year. This delayed me a good deal, but also threw a good deal of light on the matter. I hope to send you my article in a few weeks. . . . It is my chief work outside my official duties; and I think it is one which for the credit of English Scholarship should be done. . . . There is a curious verse at the end of the work.

"Qui hunc literam scripsit a domino sit benedictus

Baldwinus, talis nunquam vidi ego nec equalis."

I suppose two worse hexameters were never penned. . . .

We date the MS. about 1200.'

The importance of this work may be learned from Vinogradoff's *Roman Law in Mediaeval Europe* (see p. 52). I have placed in the library this volume presented to me by the author (4.8.13). The doctrinal influence of Vacarius left a deep trace in Oxford 'where students of law came to be styled *pauperistæ*, because their principal text book was his 'Liber Pauperum', a compilation arranged for students who had not the means to acquire costly books.

III. F. 160, the *Antiphonale Monasticum Wigornienne*. This is now likely soon to be published in facsimile by the Abbey of Solesme, with an Introduction by Dame Laurentia Maclachlan of Stanbrook Abbey. I quote here from the announcement of the publication. 'This MS. is of unique interest not only from the fact that it is the only complete English Benedictine Antiphonar now known, and contains a rich mine of hitherto inaccessible material for the history of the Monastic Office and its accompanying chant, but also on account of its deriving from the Worcester Community. At the Norman Conquest, as is well known, con-

'siderable ritual changes were made in the English Cathedrals and greater Abbey Churches, with a view to bringing their practice into accord with the observances with which the conquerors had been familiar on the Continent. Such changes were extended also to the Chant, and the difficulties at Glastonbury on this score are well known. Now, while almost all the English Churches fell into the hands of Bishops and Abbots of Norman extraction, Worcester formed a singular exception. The Community there seems also to have remained almost entirely English, and although a Norman (Sampson, a Canon of Bayeux) succeeded St. Wulstan, he seems, from a Pontifical used by him, and now preserved at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, to have followed the English observances as practised before the Conquest. . . . It may be added that the rubrics of the Antiphonar embody a Customary which is of exceptional interest as representing the rites and manners of a Cathedral Monastery.' The manuscript was compiled soon after A. D. 1218.

IV. The *Liber Albus*, the letter book of the Priors of Worcester from 1301 to 1446, of which the first third has been prepared for publication by myself in two forms: (1) the volume for 1919 of the Worcester Historical Society Transactions, and (2) in a volume of selections published by the S.P.C.K. I do not attempt to describe the work here. But I have placed in the Library (Add. MSS. 142) such reviews of the latter work as have been sent me, and they will show the value which antiquaries and historians attach to this record. I will quote a few words from the Literary Supplement of *The Times*, July 1920: 'The *Liber Albus* as now placed before us proves to be a rich treasure house of mediaeval monastic lore.' The *Guardian* writes: 'Now that the character of the collection, hitherto misrepresented, has been made clear, it is probable that many students of

'history will make a pilgrimage to Worcester for the purpose of consulting it.' The *Contemporary Review* says that 'it reflects in a wonderful way the daily life of a mediaeval Benedictine Monastery'.

There must be few, if any, cathedral libraries which can show such materials for research at the present time, on paleography, on the fusion of Roman with earlier native law, on Benedictine music and ritual, and on monastic life, as our library contains. Future workers in our library are not likely to discover anything quite equal to these. But even on these lines there is much yet to be done.

In S.N. 1 is a collection of more than fifty fragments of manuscripts, of later date than those examined by Prof. C. H. Turner, roughly indexed by Mr. Cosmo Gordon. They would probably repay detailed perusal.

In F. 87 we have the manuscript of treatises on English law and customs by Glanvil and Bracton, which are, I suppose, only second in interest to that of Vacarius, and have never been transcribed. In Add. MSS. 68 (S.N. 2) there is a considerable collection of fragments of music, with words. Some of the music, I am told, in these fragments is of special interest; and has been photographed and printed. I am too ignorant to describe it. But I remember how in June 1911 the greatest authority on the development of Plainsong in Europe, Professor Ludwig of Strassburg, came to see these fragments of which he had heard, and burst into joy and song when he saw them. Here too are unfamiliar and beautiful Latin hymns worth transcribing. I will give one verse from Fr. XXVIII:

'Sol in nube tegitur, dies obscuratur,  
Trepidat securitas, virtus infirmatur,  
Disciplina ceditur, salus excecatur,  
Vita crucifigitur, ordo conturbatur,  
Futurorum pontifex Christus est bonorum,

Qui semel introiit in sanctum sanctorum.  
Non hircorum sanguine neque vitulorum  
Sed in suo reserans aditum celorum.  
Sic extinguit gladium nobis resistentem  
Gladium versatilem, gladium ardentem,  
Et removit cherubim gladium tenentem  
Dum latronem suscipit Christus confitentem.'

This may tempt some one to explore this portfolio, already classified by Dame Laurentia, and partly transcribed and annotated.

In the *Liber Albus* itself the last two-thirds remain to be read and indexed, and the more interesting documents transcribed. Even on these lines therefore there is much to be done.

In January 1919 Dr. Montagu R. James, the Provost of Eton, in answer to a question what items in our Manuscript Library should be transcribed, mentioned twelve or more as meriting further investigation. His list is entered on the first fly-leaf of the official interleaved library copy of Floyer & Hamilton's Catalogue.

To turn from the past and future to the work done during the present year, I may mention that Q. 93 has been lent to the Bodleian for Mrs. Dorothy W. Singer, who is preparing her volume of the *International Catalogue of Alchemical MSS.* for the Union Académique Internationale. The manuscript has been returned. Q. 13 has been similarly lent to Mr. A. E. Little for work on the Franciscans. I have been able to assist by transcriptions Miss Evett in her examination of the manuscripts of Richard Rolle of Hampole's Commentary on the Psalms; the Rev. W. H. Frere in a reference for the *portiforium St. Oswaldi*; and many others by correspondence.

It will be seen then that this library is used by those outside us for purposes of research. Of our own body Canon Lacey has frequently used our library to supplement his own for historical purposes, and I have done a little myself, and had

the assistance of Miss Jessie Cole (The Vicarage, Aston, Birmingham), who was an assistant mistress in the Municipal Secondary School for Girls, Worcester.

It may interest some reader of this volume of Reports, and perhaps tempt him to undertake similar work in spare hours, if I give some specimen of the simple research work which is open to any one.

F. 19 is a large volume of sermons in Latin of the fourteenth and fifteenth century. It seems to have been compiled by a Franciscan friar. Such collections go under the titles *Fasciculus Morum* and *Dormi Secure*. The latter title is not always understood. It means 'Don't worry about your Sunday sermon: here are plenty to choose from'. Some of these sermons are in English. I have transcribed one from our volume (see p. 85 of Add. MSS. 16), and as the Middle English in which it is written is sometimes obscure, Miss Cole has annotated it. Here is a specimen: 'Tanne 'god almightie spak to hym the seconde tyme, and seyde, 'Abraham, quoth he, forasmuche as thou hast left thine 'owne land, and come into this uncnoun contre for the love 'of me y schall graunte by chartier to all thine eyres aftur 'thee the plentuis land of Chanaan to inhabit and to dwelle.' The whole sermon, from invocation to final prayer for 'al 'the clergise, al the knithhode, and al the gode comenalte, 'with al tho that ben went out of this world end a way of 'salvation', is of interest. So too are the sermons, Latin, on the words from the Cross (F. 26): 'quia Adam hora sexta 'peccavit, ideo hora sexta tenebre facte sunt super universam 'terram; et hora nona Adam fuit ejectus de paradiso et ideo 'Christus moriebatur eadem hora . . . ex quo igitur, ut 'dixi, homo isto die cepit seysinam in regno celorum.' And then follows in precisely legal language the *Carta Nostre hereditatis*: 'Sciant presentes et futuri . . . quod ego Jesus 'Christus, filius Dei Patris et Marie Virginis, deus et homo

' . . . in stadio pugnavi, et adversarium devici . . . et hereditatem meam recuperavi . . . cum heredibus meis accepi habendam et tenendam, in longitudine et latitudine in eternum, &c.' The charter ends with the passage 'scripta carta et confirmata et generi humano tradita feria 6 parasceves super montem Calvarie, publice et aperte, in eternum duratura, a creatione mundi 5232.'

To transcribe these scarcely deserves the name of research; but we, the custodians of this ancient cathedral, ought to know, and make known, something of the curious lore it contains. And if such quaint use of the Bible evokes a smile, let it be remembered that it was men who so interpreted it who converted England and built our cathedrals.

There is a story also 'De monacho religioso et de domina valde religiosa: et contra illos qui scandalum faciunt et religionem diffamant.'

These sermons also contain quotations from English verse of the period. Some are found elsewhere and are published by the Early English Text Society—such as Fol. 166 R, Vol. I, 616:

'Chaste (we) 3oure childeryn wyll thay ben 3ong  
Of werke of dede, of speche, of tong:  
For yf 3e leten hym be to bold  
Hyt wol 3ow greve wen they ben olde.'

The Ten Commandments in English verse are also found elsewhere:

'Take non god bot on in hevene,  
Nom no3t his name in ydyl stevene,  
Loke ry3t wel thyn holyday,  
Thy fadir thy modir thou worschop ay,  
Loke thou be no man slear,  
Of false wittenis non beyre  
Thou schalt do no lecherie,  
Ne non thyfte of felonie,

Thy neghebor god thou ne wille  
Ne wyfe ne douzter for to spille.'

Others, I am informed by Miss Cole, are not published, and may not be found elsewhere, such as the English version of a Latin poem on the Sacramental bread :

'Round in the schapyng  
Thin in the bakyng  
Withe in the seying (in aspectu albedinem)  
Swet in the smakyng (in gustu dulcedinem)  
On on half wel wryte (dulcis de script.)  
On the othur alf smethy smith (lenis percussio).'

More specimens may be seen in Add. MSS. 16 with Miss Cole's careful notes. The dialect used is that of Midland and Southern England.

I will briefly refer to another piece of work begun this year in our library by Miss Cole. In F. 174, fol. 64, is a poem in Anglo-Saxon of which no other copy was known to Mr. E. S. Northup, Professor of English at the Cornell University, who came to Worcester specially to examine this manuscript in August 1911. It was transcribed in 1838 by Sir T. Phillips, and his transcription is in our library (5. 2. 13) : but, as far as I know, it has not been translated. It is in the form of a debate between the soul and the body. It is incomplete, and needs careful editing. Miss Cole hopes to edit it with notes at an early date.

I wish to leave the impression that in our Manuscript Library there remains much that invites and will repay modest research. But there is much else. Any one who examines our library of printed books, specially our 'select' shelves, will be rewarded ; and there are muniments still unread : all our manor rolls ; the Chapter Minutes, which I have only partially read ; the accounts of the Receiver-General and Treasurer, which would throw light on the various restorations of the fabric during the last three centuries ; and the



box containing all the documents that refer to the great restoration in the nineteenth century. These are all awaiting the Librarian that is yet to be.

I add as usual the Report of our Music Librarian.

SIR IVOR ATKINS'S REPORT ON THE MUSIC LIBRARY

Work has been going on quietly through the year. We have recently had an illustration of the value of the Music Library. In the course of cataloguing the Part-Books about the year 1917 I came across a single part of what looked like a fine and elaborate service by Byrd, one of our greatest composers of the sixteenth century. Unfortunately, a further search revealed no trace of the other parts, but it was clear that the service was an unknown one, and inquiries at Christ Church, Oxford, strengthened this opinion. I gave the matter such publicity as I could at the time, drawing the attention of those engaged upon the preparation and publication of Tudor Music for the Carnegie Trust, and at the request of Dr. Fellowes had the part copied.

There the matter rested until recently, when I was more than delighted to hear from Dr. Buck that the missing parts had come to light at Durham, and that these, together with the part supplied from our Library, had made it possible to complete and prepare for the press a service which is said to be by far the finest by Byrd which has come down to us. It is to be published very shortly.

21 October 1921.

THE EARLIEST EDITIONS OF THE 'RIME' OF  
VITTORIA COLONNA, MARCHESA DI PESCARA

By E. MARION COX

ALTHOUGH Vittoria Colonna occupied a prominent position in the literary and social life of Italy during the first half of the sixteenth century and was the object of the sincere and romantic regard of Michael Angelo, and the recipient of almost extravagant praise from many of her contemporaries, her printed works in their earliest editions apparently have not received very careful bibliographical consideration. Works which are biographical in their scope as a rule give nothing but a few dates of publication, and Gamba identifies merely by their dates several editions published during the life of the poetess, that is to say before 1548, the two earliest being dismissed with such brief phrases as *prima fatta in Parma 1538* and *d'una di Firenze 1539*. There were in fact four editions before the end of 1540, all small octavos, and all printed in Italic type, and a detailed description of these may have some interest.

The earliest known and almost certainly actually the earliest printed is that dated 1538 and published at Parma. It may be described as follows: 'Rime de la Divina Vittoria Colonna Marchesa di Pescara Novamente Stāpato con Privilegio.' The collation is A to K in fours, L three leaves, L<sub>4</sub> being missing in the British Museum copy. It was very likely a blank. Title as above on A<sub>1</sub> printed in Roman capitals, except the last four words which are in Italic. A<sub>1</sub> verso blank, A<sub>2</sub> recto, 'Al Dotissimo Messer Alessandro Vercelli Philippo Pirogallo.' This dedication is followed by the sonnets, 143 in number, and these by the canzone, all extend-

ing to L2 verso. On the recto of L3 is printed, 'Stampato in Parma con gratia & privilegio. Nel MDXXXVIII,' and the verso of this leaf is blank. The book is printed in a good Italic type on paper of satisfactory quality. The word 'novamente' almost certainly means 'recently' in this instance.

What appears to be the second edition is dated 1539, but no place or printer is mentioned. The typography is, however, very similar to that of the first edition just described. The collation of this second edition is A to E in eights, F seven leaves, with 'Il Registro' on F7 verso. In two copies which have been examined F8 was missing, but it is likely to have been a blank. The title, in large Roman capitals throughout, printed on A1 is as follows: *Rime Della Divina Vettoria Colonna Marchesana di Pescara, Di Nuovo Ristampate, Aggiuntovi le sue Stanza & Con Diligenza Corrette.* MDXXXIX. The verso of A1 is blank and the dedication and text closely resemble that of the earlier edition, the number of sonnetti and canzone being the same. The verso of F2 is blank and on F3 recto we read, 'Incominciano le Stanze Aggiunte,' and these occupy the remainder of the volume. This, like its predecessor, is a well-printed little book, though the printer has avoided the use of ornament of any kind. The form 'Vettoria' instead of 'Vittoria' perhaps indicates that Venice may have been the place of origin. There is another edition also dated 1539, very similar to the last, except as to its title, which is entirely different in appearance. The collation is A to E in eights, F seven leaves, and again it is probable that F8 is blank. This book is a reprint of the other edition of 1539, as far as the text is concerned, but the title, though worded like the previous one, is printed within a frame made up with two large classical figures at the sides, a strip representing part of a battle at the top, and a strip showing a ship and a maritime scene at the bottom. The whole arrangement is clearly a

printer's makeshift. The typography is very similar to that of the previously described volume, but there are many points of difference and it suggests that of the Giunta heirs in Florence. The wording of the titles of the two editions of 1539 is exactly the same, but in the case of the second, some Italic is used.

Another edition of the 'Rime' appeared the next year. It was also an octavo, printed in Italic, and the title reads as follows: *Rime de la Diva Vettoria Colonna di Pescara, Inclita Marchesa. Novamente Aggiuntovi XXIIII Sonnetti Spirituali e le sue Stanze e uno Triumpho de la Croce di Christo, non piu Stampato. Con la sua Tavola.* Beneath this is inserted a large wood-cut representing a nun, or perhaps Vittoria herself, at her devotions before a crucifix, and below the wood-cut is the imprint 'In Venetia MDXXXX'. On the verso of the title there is a wood-cut of the crucifixion. The collation of this volume is A to G eight in eights, the last two leaves being blank. The title is on A, and the text begins on A2 recto, with *Triumpho della Croce*, and on G6 verso is printed, *Stampati in Venetia per Comin de Trino ad instantia de Nicolo d'Aristotile detto Zoppino nel Anno del Signor MDXXXX*. This edition contains the added matter mentioned in the title.

There were certainly three more editions during the life of Vittoria Colonna, one in 1543, one in 1544, and another in 1546, and several more before 1600, but the four which have been described are those which have the most bibliographical interest. They are all very rare books, the Parma edition of 1538, as might be suspected, being exceptionally so, but the two editions of 1539 are almost as infrequently seen. The famous letter in verse written by Vittoria Colonna to her husband while in prison after the battle of Ravenna in 1521, is said to have been printed in 1536, but I have not seen a copy.

## DR. JOHNSON AS A BIBLIOGRAPHER

BY the generosity of Lady Wernher the British Museum acquired in 1916 three letters<sup>1</sup> of Dr. Johnson relating to the collecting of books for the King's Library. The third and most important of these is the famous one addressed to Mr., afterwards Sir, Frederick Augusta Barnard, the librarian, dated 28 May 1768, which was first published by the latter in the Introduction to his *Bibliothecae Regiae Catalogus*, vol. i, 1820, p. iii, after he had refused Boswell permission to print it.<sup>2</sup> It was subsequently repeated in the *Report of the Committee on Papers relating to the Royal Library*, &c., 1823, p. ii; in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1823, part i, p. 347; in the *Report from the Select Committee on the condition, management, and affairs of the British Museum*, 1835, p. 386; in Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, ed. Croker, 1848, p. 196; and in Dr. G. Birkbeck Hill's edition of Johnson's *Letters*, 1892, vol. i, p. 142. All these reprints, it should be noted, were made from Barnard's Introduction and not from the original letter, which remained in the family of the recipient until it was presented, with the two others, by his great-grandson, Major-General W. Osborne Barnard, to the Red Cross sale at Christie's in 1916. It is now possible for the first time to correct a number of mistakes in the printed editions, and to supply a passage hitherto omitted, in which the writer gives some rather striking bibliographical information. It is probably on this account that it was withheld by Barnard, who no doubt found it as difficult of explanation as it appears nowadays. The passage in question comes imme-

<sup>1</sup> Now Add. MS. 39303.

<sup>2</sup> Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, ed. G. B. Hill, 1887, vol. ii, p. 33 note 4.

diately after the sentence 'These discoveries are sufficient to raise hope and instigate inquiry', which will be found on p. 147, ll. 7-8, of Dr. G. B. Hill's edition of the *Letters*, vol. i, and is as follows:

'One hint more may deserve to be added, though it is not very likely that you will have any opportunity of turning it to profit. It is recorded by those that have with the greatest diligence examined the first essays of typography, and particularly by Naudaeus the Librarian of Cardinal Mazarine, that the stamp or insigne by which Fust marked his editions were Horns, and I have read an advertisement of a Book offered to sale in Holland that was so stamped. For these horns I have looked to no purpose in the books printed by Fust which are commonly known, yet since it cannot be doubted but that there are yet in the world books so marked I believe you may consider them, if ever you should find them, as printed before 1458, for those printed after that year I think, always want the stamp.'

The following is a list of corrections, made with reference to Dr. Hill's edition of the letters, as being the most generally accessible text:

- Vol. i, p. 143, l. 8. 'a wantonness' . . . Delete 'a'.
- l. 26. 'in England' . . . Delete 'in'.
- p. 144, l. 2. 'in its native soil' . . . For 'in' read 'on'.
- l. 12. For 'influence' read 'importance'.
- l. 26. For 'Graevius' read 'Greevius'.
- l. 27. For 'discern' read 'discover'.
- p. 145, l. 1. For 'In every place' read 'Try every place,'
- l. 6. For 'connected' read 'collected'. (*N.B. Rightly printed by Barnard, and in the Committee Reports, etc., but wrong in Croker's ed. of Boswell, 1848, p. 196.*)
- l. 15. For 'books' read 'loads'.

- ll. 18-19. For 'prevails' read 'prevail'.  
l. 20. The word 'Italy' is actually omitted in the MS.  
p. 146, l. 12. For 'proportioned' read 'proportionate'.  
l. 20. For 'search' read 'searches'.  
l. 24. For '1457' (a kindly correction) read '1458'.  
l. 27. For 'is' read 'be'.  
l. 28. For '1457' read '1458'; for 'nineteen' read 'eighteen'.  
p. 147, l. 8. After 'inquiry' insert passage printed above.  
l. 10. For 'edition' read 'editions'.

ERIC G. MILLAR.



## BLANK LEAVES OR ALTERNATIVE TITLES

By GEORGE WATSON COLE, L.H.D.

IN the Huntington Library is a copy of *The Second Comedie of Pub. Terentius, called Eunuchus*, 1629. This, of itself, would mean little, as Miss Palmer in her *English Editions and Translations of Greek and Latin Classics* (p. 104) records a copy in the British Museum (press-mark, 833, f. 30/2), and 'Another impression' in the University Library, Cambridge (Syn. 7. 62. 249<sup>3</sup>). The peculiarity of the copy in the Huntington Library lies in the fact that it has two title-pages printed on the same sheet (¶1). In the first of these the imprint reads: 'LONDON, | Printed by A. I. and are to be sold by *Nicholas Bourne* at the | South entrance of the Royall Exchange. 1629.' The imprint of the second title-page reads: 'LONDON, | Printed by A. I. for Philip Waterhouse, and are to be sold at his | shop at the signe of St. Pauls Head, in Cannin street neere | London stone, 1629.' The recto of leaf ¶3 contains '*The speakers of [this] | Comedie*'; its verso and leaf ¶4, 'C. Sulpitius Apollinaris | *bis summarie argument | vpon the Eunuch.*' Both of these leaves are printed in triple columns. The volume collates as follows: ¶1, A-Z<sup>4</sup>, Aa-Ff<sup>4</sup>; Gg<sup>4</sup> (the last, probably blank, lacking); total 124 leaves. That the last leaf is probably blank is presumed from the fact that Gg<sup>3</sup> contains on its recto and verso '*Errors to be corrected.*'

This copy is unusual, if not unique, as it has two title-pages with different imprints printed upon a single sheet. In an examination of some six or seven thousand volumes printed prior to 1641, this is the only example we have met with so

printed. The explanation appears to be quite simple. The book bears *prima facie* evidence of having been printed for two stationers. The printer, when he came to print the preliminary leaves, found that he had a leaf which otherwise would remain blank and printed upon it the title-page with the second stationer's name in the imprint, leaving the binder to cancel one or the other when the quota of copies for each was being made up. In this copy the binder neglected to do this, hence its unusual character. These title-pages are printed from the same setting of type with the exception of the imprint. This was easily done, as the first was printed on the outer form, and the second, with the imprint changed, on the inner form.

We have just seen what the printer did. Let us now follow the sheets of this book a little further and see what was done with them. When Bourne sent his quota of the edition to the binder, he would naturally instruct him to carefully remove or cancel the title-page containing the name of his fellow stationer. Whitehouse would likewise give similar instructions to his binder.

This discovery raises several interesting questions. When the bibliographer finds a copy with the Bourne imprint, he of course collates it and decides that sheet A lacks the second leaf, which he naturally assumes has been cancelled, as is indeed the case; but he will almost certainly infer that the leaf was blank, or contained a suppressed dedication or some other printed introductory matter, and will so describe the book, never suspecting that it contained a second title-page.

If, instead of a copy with the Bourne imprint, the bibliographer picks up one containing the Whitehouse imprint, he will find the first leaf lacking and naturally jump to the conclusion, as he has done in numerous other instances, that the missing leaf was probably blank and lacking.

This discovery in the Huntington copy leads us to pause

and think. Are we at all absolutely sure that any copy of a book lacking one of the leaves of the first or preliminary sheet can be satisfactorily and accurately described until a copy has been found which contains all of the leaves, and especially if copies are known with differing imprints containing the names of two or more stationers, as in the case of the book here described? Both title-pages are printed on the original sheet A, in neither has the title-page been cancelled and a cancel printed, as is often the case where the original title-page has been cancelled and another, printed on a separate leaf, tipped in to take its place.

Finally, are we to consider this a sporadic example, or were the Elizabethan printers accustomed to follow this hitherto unsuspected practice? I am much interested to know if any one has discovered a similar example of a duplication of title-pages.

In the same volume and before the *Eunuchus* is bound *The First Comedy of Pub. Terentius, called Andria*. This closely follows the typographical style of *Eunuchus*, but is from the press of a different printer, though it was printed for one of the same stationers, as shown by the imprint which reads: 'LONDON, | Printed by *Felix Kyngston* for *Philip Waterhouse*, and are to be sold at | his shop at the signe of 'St. Pauls Head, in Cannin streete neere | London-Stone. '1629.' This has but one title-page, which is printed on leaf [¶12], and is followed by leaf [¶13], both showing portions of the watermark. It would be interesting to know if leaf [¶1] was originally left blank or contained a second title-page.

## REVIEWS

### THE DANIEL PRESS<sup>1</sup>

DR. DANIEL, as he deserved, was exceptionally fortunate in many respects throughout his life, and the piety of Mr. C. H. Wilkinson, a Fellow of his own College, has extended this good fortune by building a book in his honour, which includes three delightful appreciations of the man and his work, two charming poems, and a bibliography which is certainly the most complete, and also among the most literary and most human commemorations that any press has received. The appreciations are by Sir Herbert Warren, Dr. W. W. Jackson,<sup>2</sup> and Mrs. Woods, the first touching mainly on the place of Dr. Daniel in Oxford life, the second on his success in decorating the chapel and hall of Worcester College, while the third gives a very pleasant picture of his home life. The poems are by Mr. Masfield and Mr. Bourdillon. The bibliography is by Mr. Madan, and though listeners to the paper he read before our Society on the Daniel Press had a foretaste of its charm, even that pleasant experience did not lead his faithful secretary to anticipate quite such a masterpiece. At the outset Mr. Madan discusses the difficult problem as to what constitutes a private press and reaches the definition 'a press carried on unofficially by a person or

<sup>1</sup> *The Daniel Press. Memorials of C. H. O. Daniel. With a bibliography of the Press, 1845-1919.* Oxford, printed on the Daniel Press in the Bodleian Library, 1921, 40, pp. [viii] 198. With 15 plates.

<sup>2</sup> A statement by Dr. Jackson that Daniel 'had spent some three years in London as Classical Master at King's College School, where he had himself 'been educated' should not have been allowed to stand, as other information shows that his post was that of Classical Lecturer in the College, and it was there, not at school that he was for a brief time a student.

'group of persons for his or their private purposes', which, it is stated, may include 'commercial profit'. By a curious chance his secretary has also been discussing this problem in an introduction to a catalogue of the books from the Kelmscott and Doves Presses in the library of Mr. William Andrews Clark, and in giving his reasons for not considering either of these admirable presses private arrived at a much stricter definition, which is here relegated to a footnote.<sup>1</sup> His argument ends: 'the real virtue in both printing and publishing lies not in privacy, but in the vision of an ideal and its attainment, despite of difficulties and, it may be, of pecuniary loss, and this virtue is visible in every book of both these presses, whether we regard them on their publishing side, or typographically.' To transfer this praise without some qualification to Dr. Daniel's press would be inappropriate, for it was used on many occasions with no more ceremony than its owner would have used a typewriter, but its more strictly literary products had the double merit of a really high standard and a fragrance of friendship and affection and the charm of their printer's personality which is entirely delightful. Mr. Madan's achievement lies in the success with which he has preserved this fragrance. He tells us how each book came into existence, often how it was received, and seldom fails to add some human, and occasionally, some humorous, touch. There are literary appreciations also

<sup>1</sup> 'A press does not become a private press merely because it is lodged in a private building. Printers, like other craftsmen, have lived over their workshops and may do so still. For a press to be private a double qualification seems necessary: the books it prints must not be obtainable by any chance purchaser who offers a price for them and the owner must print for his own pleasure and not work for hire for other people. Books may be printed for private circulation at any press, and they may be privately printed by any printer, if he prints them for himself, and not on commission or for sale; but only presses which do no other work than this can be considered as really private, and there have not been many of them.'

of the less well-known books, for Mr. Madan has read as well as collected and described. The one thing he has not done, as far as this reviewer can see, is to leave anything whatever for any one else to add to his work.

A. W. P.

#### THE BERLIN LIBRARY<sup>1</sup>

THIRTY-NINE essays by members of the 'scientific staff' of the Royal Library, now Prussian State Library, at Berlin are collected in this volume as an offering to its Generaldirektor, Adolf von Harnack, on the occasion of his retirement under the age limit after fifteen years of office. The subjects of all of them are more or less directly connected with the Library, the majority being concerned with its administration, and the information which they supply is the more interesting as the annual report has been discontinued since 1916. Professor von Harnack superintended the removal of the Library to its new premises, claimed as the largest of their kind in existence, shortly before the outbreak of the war, which cut short what promised to be a record development. The number of separate volumes contained in it is now calculated at about 1½ millions, an increase of about 40 per cent. in fifteen years. Its speciality has always been German literature in all its manifestations, and its aim is to become 'the national lending library', books being sent out to sister institutions all over Germany, and as many as 10,000 having gone beyond the boundaries of Prussia in 1913-14. While this is of course an excellent thing for the provinces, the system tends to put readers on the spot at a disadvantage, and the students of Berlin have been known to consider it something of a grievance that the books they call for are so often 'not at home'.

<sup>1</sup> *Fünfzehn Jahre Königliche und Staatsbibliothek*. 1921. pp. vi. 285. 11½ × 8½ in.

The grant for purchases amounted to Mk. 316,400 in 1914, and has not since been increased, but considerable sums have been added in the shape of non-recurring grants in each year since 1918, while the help of the Verein der Freunde der Kgl. Bibliothek—a German equivalent of the National Art Collections Fund—has enabled many valuables to be acquired. The staff now numbers about 340 all told, and includes 22 women among the diplomaed 'Bibliothekssekretäre'. It is significant of present conditions that the amount spent on salaries, which was Mk. 385,580 in 1905, stands to-day at 3½ millions, *plus* Mk. 800,000 for the 'Hilfsarbeiter', but not including doorkeepers and the lower grades. It was not till 1911 that the Library started a binding shop of its own, and even now the pressure of the trade prevents it from undertaking more than about three-quarters of the binding work to be done.

Among the more specialized papers is one by Prof. Voulliéme on the collection of incunabula, from which it appears that this was not separately catalogued until 1906 nor brought together on the shelves until 1909. Since then it has made great strides; new items have been added during the last fifteen years at the rate of 100 per annum, and the total now stands at about 6,100. A systematic attempt was made about 1910 to sweep into it the contents of smaller provincial collections which have little interest in early printing, in return for a moderate purchase price, but, evidently to the chagrin of the central authorities, this had to be given up in view of the strong local opposition. German printing is of course specialized in, and the Library now has more than 50 per cent. of all Cologne incunabula known. Prof. Voulliéme reproduces the last page of the Burgundische Historie of Erhard Tusch, 'Getruckt zu Strassburg' in 1477 with the larger type of 'Georgius de Spira', a piece of evidence which (as was recognized when it came up for sale at Sotheby's)



renders untenable the theory advanced in the B.M. Incunabula Catalogue (vol. ii, pp. 483, &c.) that the Ratisbon Breviary and the dozen or so other books connected with this printer were executed at Speier. Another facsimile, however, shows that the Melber, *Vocabularius predicantium*, hitherto left 'unassigned' and suspected of being later than 1500 (Proctor, no. 1925, IA. 15653), was printed by Hans Schäffler at Ulm in or about 1492—an interesting promotion. Professor Schwenke writes on the fragments of the earliest Mainz Donatases, of which the Library now possesses a very representative collection of fourteen, including what is taken to be the oldest surviving piece of printing except the 'Weltgericht' fragment in the Gutenberg Museum at Mainz. Professor Haebler gives us interesting information on the present state of the great 'Gesamtkatalog' of incunabula which has been preparing for some fifteen years. The total number of editions admitted to the canon is about 38,000, but this figure includes all the numerous dubia which may just as well belong to 1501-5 as to 1495-1500. Full descriptions have been made of all incunabula hitherto accessible to the German cataloguers, but the work of co-ordinating them still goes on and must be an almost interminable labour. On the other hand, a very large number of books are known to the Kommission only from references in various lists and catalogues, and under the circumstances this seems likely to prove a very serious obstacle to the completion of the work. Since the resignation of Professor Haebler Dr. vom Rath is at the head of the Kommission, with Dr. Crous as his second in command.

A word of mention is due to Dr. W. Doegen's article on the 'Lautabteilung' of the Library, a very interesting new departure. Its purpose is to collect phonographic records illustrative of music and speech in every quarter of the globe, and it appears to have made good use of the unique oppor-

tunities afforded to it by prisoners of war, of whose languages and dialects, ranging from Samoan to Finnish, about 3,000 records were made. Over 200 languages altogether are represented in the collection.

V. S.

#### THE EDINBURGH BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY<sup>1</sup>

THIS new instalment of the Publications of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society completes Vol. XI, to which it adds an Abstract of Proceedings for the years 1917-20 and a list of all the papers printed in the eleven volumes, the first of which appeared in 1896. The three new papers here printed are all of interest. Under the title *The Aberdeen Doctors and the National Covenant* Mr. James D. Ogilvie describes, with a full bibliography, the controversy which arose at Aberdeen in 1638 between the opponents of the Covenant and its supporters. The first pamphlet issued, 'General demands concerning the late Covenant to be propounded to some Reverend Brethren who were to recommend it to us and our people' printed by Edward Raban, is now only known from a manuscript copy. For the other eight entries of 1638 references are given in four cases to copies in the Aberdeen University Library, for three others to copies in Mr. Ogilvie's possession, and in one case, the original edition of *The Answeres of some Brethren of the Ministerie to the Replyes of the Ministers and Professours of Divinitie in Aberdene* only to Edmond's *Aberdeen Printers*. A copy is, however, in the British Museum (pressmark 1019. f. 10/5) sandwiched in between the two halves of *The Answeres* and *Duplies* 'printed by R. Y. (Robert Young) His Majesties Printer for Scotland'.

In the second paper Mr. James Cameron Ewing gives

<sup>1</sup> *Publications of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society*. Vol. XI, Part ii. Edinburgh, Printed for the Society. October 1921.

(with a bibliography) a history of the publication and interdiction of Burns's *Letters to Clarinda*, a curious story in itself and of some importance for the evolution of the law of copy-right in private letters.

The third paper, by the Society's Hon. Secretary, Mr. G. P. Johnston, describes the career and voluminous writings of William Mitchel, tinsmith, lamplighter, pamphleteer, preacher and pedlar (1670 ?-1740), who called himself 'the Tinclarian Doctor', 'because I am a Tinklar (southern English "tinker")' 'and cures Pans and Old Lanterns.' Mr. Johnston registers altogether 74 different pieces by Mitchel, a good many of which have been preserved by being bound together, in three instances, comprising respectively 16, 13, and 14 several tracts, with general title-pages, in others without this addition. The British Museum seems to possess altogether 43 of them, which, despite their frequent human interest, is perhaps more than any one will ever read, though Mr. Sutherland Ferguson, to whom for his helpfulness, Mr. Johnston makes acknowledgement, seems to have made a valiant attempt to do so.

A. W. P.

## ANNUAL REPORT

**D**URING the past year the Society has lost the help of two of its older friends and helpers, Mr. F. W. Bourdillon and Dr. Wickham Legg. Mr. Bourdillon's services to the Society were commemorated at our January meeting and briefly mentioned in the last Annual Report; Dr. Wickham Legg's at our November meeting and in *The Library*. Members will learn with satisfaction that Mr. Bourdillon's fine collection of French romances and their literature, with the rest of his working library, has passed into the possession of the National Library of Wales, where it will be preserved substantially intact. Dr. Wickham Legg's important liturgical collections, in accordance with his generous directions, have been mainly given to the British Museum and the Bodleian. At its last meeting the Council has had the pleasure of electing Mr. L. G. Wickham Legg to membership of the Society in succession to his honoured father. Mrs. Faber, who in the same way took up our former President's subscription, has now herself passed from us. We have also lost Mr. H. T. Gerrans, of Worcester College, Oxford, a distinguished mathematician, who was also a book-lover, and Mr. Michael Tomkinson, a member of the Roxburghe Club and a successful collector, though not mainly of books.

Three members have formally resigned since our last list was printed as 'corrected to March 21, 1921', and one or two others may drop off, but against these losses twenty-four entrance fees of new British members were received during the year, and candidates are still coming in. That we should be doing so well, despite the hardness of the times, is one of

several signs that interest in bibliography is increasing. The net result of our new arrangements is that our subscription income has risen from £488 in 1920 to £822 in 1921. Our sales of publications to members have kept up well, and receipts from sales and advertisements have brought down the net cost of *The Library* almost to the pre-war rate of a volume of our *Transactions* of equal size.

Mr. Plomer's *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers, 1668-1725*, is now all in type and will shortly be issued. It is hoped also that the copy for our late President's bibliography of medical books to the close of 1480 will be in the printer's hands before the Annual Meeting, and that we may soon also begin to print a Bibliography of Meredith, by Mr. Maurice Buxton-Forman, which Mr. Wise has kindly promised to see through the press, the writer being domiciled in Pretoria.

Our American members have materially helped us to maintain our output by keeping up their subscriptions during the War and continuing to pay at pre-war rates when the exchange went in their favour. When it was intimated that they too are now feeling the pinch of hard times, the Council referred the question of what the dollar subscription should be to the American Committee, who fixed it at \$8.50. Since then the exchange value of the dollar has fallen, and the Council is pleased to know that our kind helpers are getting back a little of their own. American members who joined before 1 January 1921, have, of course, the same right as British Members to continue to pay the old subscription. But it is hoped that before the end of another year it will be evident that full subscribers get the better value for their money.

## NOTICES

Miss K. Briggs, Messrs. J. Meade Falkner, L. G. Wickham Legg, R. A. Austen Leigh, and Allardyce Nicoll, and University College, Swansea, have been elected to membership of the Society.

The Annual Meeting of the Society for the election of officers and members of Council, and the reception of the Council's Report and the Balance Sheet will be held at 20 Hanover Square on Monday, 20 March, at the conclusion of the ordinary monthly meeting. Mr. T. J. Wise has been nominated as President in succession to Mr. Madan, and Dr. W. W. Greg as an additional Vice-President. The other officers of the Society offer themselves for re-election. The following will be proposed as Members of Council: Dr. E. Marion Cox, Lionel Cust, E. H. Dring, Stephen Gaselee, J. P. Gilson, M. R. James, C. W. Dyson Perrins, Sir D'Arcy Power, A. W. Reed, Frank Sidgwick, Henry Thomas, Charles Welch.

At the Monthly Meeting on Monday, 20 March, at 5 p.m., there will be read a paper by Mr. A. W. Pollard, entitled *Some Notes on the History of Copyright after the Restoration (1662-1774)*.

A case for binding Vol. II of *The Library* will be sent free of charge to all members of the Society, whose subscription has been paid, with the June number. Members who, before 1 June, send their copies of the four numbers with a postal order for 2s. 5d. to the Controller, University Press, Oxford, will receive them back, post free, cased. Members who neglected to have Vol. I cased last year can have their copies of the two volumes done and returned, post free, for 4s. 6d.

## BALANCE SHEET

From 1 January to 31 December 1921.

RECEIPTS.			PAYMENTS.		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
Balance (1 Jan. 1921) +			Printing, Paper, Casing, Dis-		
£100 on Deposit . . .	161	0 1	tribution, and Insurance		
British Entrance Fees . .	25	4 6	of Stock, less proceeds of		
British Subs., 1920 . . .	2	2 0	Sales and Advertisements		
" 1921 . . .	520	15 0	of <i>The Library</i> . . .	645	19 6
" 1922 . . .	33	12 0	Rent . . .	28	17 6
British Life Members . .	40	19 0	Expenses of Meetings . .	13	6 8
Interest on Deposit and In-			Income Tax . . .	0	19 6
vestments . . .	16	2 0	Bank Charges . . .	0	10 10
Sale of Publications to Mem-			Hon. Treasurer (for Petty		
bers . . .	124	10 1	Cash) . . .	6	11 4
Foreign Subs., 1915-20 . .	14	14 0	Secretarial Expenses . .	4	17 0
" 1921 . . .	26	5 0	Cheque uncleared in 1920 .	1	11 6
U.S.A. Subs., 1918-19 . .	18	18 0	Return of Subscriptions over-		
U.S.A. Subs. and Entrance			paid in error . . .	3	3 0
Fees, 1921 . . .	209	0 6	Re-purchase of Stock . .	3	1 0
Sale of 3rd Series of <i>The</i>			Research . . .	10	0 0
<i>Library</i> . . .	6	19 4	Sir John MacAlister (Pro-		
			ceeds of sale of 3rd Series		
			of <i>The Library</i> ) . . .	6	19 4
			Balance at Bank (31 Dec.		
			1921)+£100 on Deposit .	474	4 4
	£1,200	1 6		£1,200	1 6

R. FARQUHARSON SHARP, *Hon. Treasurer.*

Examined with vouchers and found correct.

ALEX. NEALE.  
JAMES P. R. LYELL.

14 January 1922.

ASSETS.			LIABILITIES.		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
£300 2½% Consols @ 50½ .	150	7 6	Estimated Liability for 31		
£100 3½% New South Wales			Life Members . . .	338	2 0
Bond (1930-50) . . .	64	0 0	Subscriptions received in ad-		
£100 5% Exchequer Bond .	100	7 6	vance . . .	33	12 0
Estimated value of Stock of			Estimated cost of completing		
Publications . . .	800	0 0	and sending out books for		
Balance of Account for 1921	474	4 4	the year . . .	400	0 0



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